Palestine exploration quarterly

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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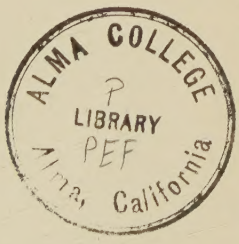
Quarterly Statement

FOR 1925



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INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS AND TITLES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

PAGE

Albright, Prof. W. F.—
The Hebrew Ostraken 219

Anon.—
Narrative of a Journey from Rome to Jerusalem 140, 193

Baldensperger, Philip J.—
The Immovable East 80

Close, Colonel Sir Charles F., K.C.B., C.B., etc.—
On the New Maps of Jerusalem 217

Cook, Stanley A., Litt.D.—
Inscribed Jar-handles 91
Reviews 99, 151
The Inscription of Ahiram, King of Byblus 210

Cowley, A. E., D.Litt., F.B.A.—
A Jewish Tomb-stone 207

Duncan, Rev. J. Garrow, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.)—
Fifth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem 8
Sixth Quarterly Report 134
A Leaden Ossuary 65
Inscribed Jar-handles 91
The Excavation of the Foundations of the Supposed Third Wall of Jerusalem 172

FitzGerald, Gerald M., M.A.—
The So-called Maccabaean Pottery 189

Gordon, Rev. T. Crouther, D.F.C., B.D.—
Some Arab Coins from Ophel and Siloam 183

Hall, H. R., D.Litt., F.S.A.—
Address on Palestinian Research 116

Hanauer, Rev. Canon J. E.—
Folk-lore and other Notes from Damascus, etc. 31
The Excavation of the Foundations of the Supposed Third Wall of Jerusalem 172

Masterman, E. W. G., M.D., F.R.C.S.— PAGE

The Harvard Excavations at Samaria 25

The Excavation of the Foundations of the Supposed Third Wall of Jerusalem 172

Reviews—

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.... 46

Annual Report of the Department of Health for 1923 47

The Gateway of Palestine 96

Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina 216

Other Reviews 49

Richardson, Rev. A. T.—

The Site of Shiloh 162

Salaman, Redcliffe N., M.A., M.D.—

What has become of the Philistines? A Biologist's Point of View 37, 68

Warren, General Sir Charles, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.—

1925. The Diamond Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund 61

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Fifth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem—

Plate I. Fig. 2.—Early Hebrew Wall in line with Old Jebusite Inner Wall. Fig. 3.—Rock-chamber, showing Broken Roof and Circular Shaft, with Steps leading down to Roof .... *facing* 10

Plate II. Fig. 4.—Hellenistic Wall, South End. Fig. 5.—Hellenistic Wall, East Face, upper end, with facing removed .... *facing* 11

Plate III. Fig. 6.—West Face of Hellenistic Wall and Gate Tower. Fig. 7.—West Face of Hellenistic Wall, showing how it stands on the Older "Hezekiah" Wall .... *facing* 12

Plate IV. Fig. 9.—North Bastion, view from North. Fig. 10.—North Bastion, view from South .... *facing* 13

Plate V. Fig. 11.—Hebrew Ring-burnished Water Jugs. Fig. 12.—Hebrew Ring-burnished Dish. Fig. 13.—Hebrew Lid and Spout. Fig. 14.—Hebrew Heavy Ware. Fig. 15.—Hebrew Painted Pottery *facing* 16

Plate VI. Figs. 16 and 17.—Hebrew Potter's Stamps, various periods .... *facing* 17

Plate VII. Fig. 20.—Maccabaean Ware. Fig. 21.—Slate Mould. Fig. 22.—Maccabaean Bowl. Fig. 23.—Ivory Carving (Greek). Fig. 24.—Moulds .... *facing* 22

Plate VIII. Fig. 25.—Cone Weights. Fig. 26.—Pottery Weights with Strange Marks. Fig. 27.—Skeleton found in front of Tower .... *facing* 23

Illustrations in the Text—

Fig. 1. Jebusite Wall, section North of Sewer 10

,, 8. Stone of Hellenistic Wall left *in situ* 14

,, 18. Syro-Egyptian Heads.... 19

,, 19. Egyptian Head, front and side view 20

Plate I. A Leaden Ossuary from Jerusalem .... *facing* 66

What has become of the Philistines? A Biologist's Point of View—

Plate II. Fig. 1.—Top Row. Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth Dynasty. Bottom row. Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth Dynasty. Fig. 2.—Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth Dynasty .... *facing* 70

Masterman, E. W. G., M.D., F.R.C.S.— PAGE

The Harvard Excavations at Samaria 25

The Excavation of the Foundations of the Supposed Third Wall of Jerusalem 172

Reviews—

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.... 46

Annual Report of the Department of Health for 1923 47

The Gateway of Palestine 96

Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina 216

Other Reviews 49

Richardson, Rev. A. T.—

The Site of Shiloh 162

Salaman, Redcliffe N., M.A., M.D.—

What has become of the Philistines? A Biologist's Point of View 37, 68

Warren, General Sir Charles, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.—

1925. The Diamond Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund 61

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Fifth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem—

Plate I. Fig. 2.—Early Hebrew Wall in line with Old Jebusite Inner Wall. Fig. 3.—Rock-chamber, showing Broken Roof and Circular Shaft, with Steps leading down to Roof .... *facing* 10

Plate II. Fig. 4.—Hellenistic Wall, South End. Fig. 5.—Hellenistic Wall, East Face, upper end, with facing removed .... *facing* 11

Plate III. Fig. 6.—West Face of Hellenistic Wall and Gate Tower. Fig. 7.—West Face of Hellenistic Wall, showing how it stands on the Older "Hezekiah" Wall .... *facing* 12

Plate IV. Fig. 9.—North Bastion, view from North. Fig. 10.—North Bastion, view from South .... *facing* 13

Plate V. Fig. 11.—Hebrew Ring-burnished Water Jugs. Fig. 12.—Hebrew Ring-burnished Dish. Fig. 13.—Hebrew Lid and Spout. Fig. 14.—Hebrew Heavy Ware. Fig. 15.—Hebrew Painted Pottery *facing* 16

Plate VI. Figs. 16 and 17.—Hebrew Potter's Stamps, various periods .... *facing* 17

Plate VII. Fig. 20.—Maccabaean Ware. Fig. 21.—Slate Mould. Fig. 22.—Maccabaean Bowl. Fig. 23.—Ivory Carving (Greek). Fig. 24.—Moulds .... *facing* 22

Plate VIII. Fig. 25.—Cone Weights. Fig. 26.—Pottery Weights with Strange Marks. Fig. 27.—Skeleton found in front of Tower .... *facing* 23

Illustrations in the Text—

Fig. 1. Jebusite Wall, section North of Sewer 10

,, 8. Stone of Hellenistic Wall left *in situ* 14

,, 18. Syro-Egyptian Heads.... 19

,, 19. Egyptian Head, front and side view 20

Plate I. A Leaden Ossuary from Jerusalem .... *facing* 66

What has become of the Philistines? A Biologist's Point of View—

Plate II. Fig. 1.—Top Row. Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth Dynasty. Bottom row. Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth Dynasty. Fig. 2.—Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth Dynasty .... *facing* 70

PAGE

Plate III. Fig. 3.—The Cupbearer, from a fresco in Knossos Crete. Late Minoan II Period. Fig. 4.—Female Cretan Head from Knossos. Late Minoan II Period .... *facing* 71

Plate IV. Inscribed Jar-handles .... „ 91

Sixth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem—

Plate I. Fig. 1.—Panoramic View of the Inner or Jebusite Wall *facing* 136

Plate II. Fig. 2.—Remains of the Jebusite Wall .... „ 137

The Excavation of the Foundations of the Supposed Third Wall of Jerusalem—

Fig. 1.—Section of the Supposed Third Wall 173

Fig. 2.—Large Drafted Block of the Wall 174

Fig. 3.—View of Part of the Supposed Third Wall 175

Fig. 4.—View of Part of the Supposed Third Wall 177

Fig. 5.—Kitchen Floor on top of Wall 178

Fig. 6.—Mosaic Pavement 179

Plate. Arab Coins from Ophel and Siloam.... .... *facing* 188

A Jewish Tomb-stone—

Plate I. Rubbing of an Ancient Jewish Tomb-stone .... „ 208

Plate II. Copy of the Inscription on the Tomb-stone .... „ 209

GENERAL INDEX.

American Oriental Research, 46; Excavations at Samaria, 25; Beth-shan, 116; Annual General Meeting, 109, 115.
Annual General Meeting, 115.
Arab Coins, 183.

Bedouin Life, 80.
Beth-shan, 116.
Biology and the Jewish type, 37, 68.
Books received, 5, 58, 112, 169.
,, wanted, 6, 60, 114, 170.
,, *See* Reviews.
British School of Archaeology, 56, 99, 166.
Byblus, French discoveries at, 119, 161; Ancient Phoenician Inscription, 210.

Cana in Galilee, 49.
Capernaum, Ruins of, 158.
Caphtor and Crete, 68.
Cities of the Plain, 101.

Daily Telegraph, The, and Ophel, 55.
Damascus Folk-lore, 31.
Dead Sea, Expedition to, 101; Jewish Tomb-stone, 207.

Egyptian Influence at Ophel, 19 sq.
Entomology of Palestine, 49.
Exodus, The, Date of, 117.

Figurines, Palestinian, discussed, 103.
Fishing, 102.
Folk-lore from Damascus, 31; Lunacy in, 99.
Franciscan Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 140.
Fûl, Tell el-, site of, 46.

Gezer, 123, 124.
Gibeah of Saul, 46.
Greek Carving from Ophel, 22.

Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 25.
Health of Palestine, Report for 1923, 47.
"Hittite" type of Jew, 39.
Hyksos Kings and the Exodus, 118.

Inscriptions—
Arab (coins), 184.
Greek, 51.
Hebrew Jar-handles, 20, 91, 139; Ostraka, 30, 219; Weight, 107; Tomb-stone, 207.
Phoenician, 210.

Jaffa, History of, 96.
Jar-handles, Inscribed, 20, 91, 100, 139.
Jerusalem, Discoveries at, 56, 109, 123, 125. *See* Ophel—Third Wall.
Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, The, Discoveries at Jerusalem, 175 sq.
Jewish Types—three main varieties, 39.
Josephus, his account of the Third Wall, 180.

"Maccabaean" Pottery, 189.
Maps of Jerusalem, New, 217.
Marissa, Discoveries at, 3.

Names, Geographical, Identification of, 153.

Notes and News—
Excavation of Ophel, 1; Mr. Cresswell on the Dome of the Rock, 2; American Discoveries at Marissa, 3; Lady Watson, Hon. Local Secretary for Jerusalem, 3; Special Donations to Ophel Fund, 4, 58, 111, 168; Visit of Hon. Sec. and Treasurer to Ophel, 53; Offer by Sir Charles Warren, 54; Prof. Macalister's Survey of the Excavations, 55; Tomb of Absalom, 56; Annual Report of the B.S.A.J., 56; Death of Mr. Newton, 56; Annual General Meeting, 109; Discovery of Neanderthal Man, 110; Death of Prof. Burney, 110, and of Prof. Marti, 110; Seatonian Prize Poem, "Jerusalem," 110; Return of Rev. Duncan—future projects, 165; The Neanderthal Skull, 166; A Forgotten Discovery, 167; Death of Mr. Lange, 167.

Obeid, Tell el-, 152.
Obituaries—
Mr. Francis G. Newton, 56.
Rev. Prof. Burney, 110, 115.
Prof. Marti, 110.
Lord Abercromby, 115.
Mr. Michael E. Lange, 167.
Omri, Palace of, at Samaria, 28.
Ophel Fund, special donations to, 4, 58, 111, 168.
Ophel, Fifth Quarterly Report, 8 sqq.; General Progress, 8; Continuation of the Eastern Walls, 10; Ancient Cistern, 12; Hellenistic Wall, 13; North Bastion and Tower, 15; Pottery of the Hebrew Period, 18; Seleucid and Maccabaean Period, 20; Greek Carving, 22; Skeleton, 24; Sixth Quarterly Report, 134 sqq; General Progress, 134; Solomonic Traces, 135; Outer Walls, 136. *See* also Notes and News and Annual General Meeting.
Ossuary of Lead from Jerusalem, 65.
Ostraka, 30, 219.

Palestine Exploration Fund, 1925, The Diamond Jubilee, 61.
Palestine, Health Report, 47; Entomology of, 49.
"Philistine" type of Jew, 40, 77.
Philistines—Problem of their Origin and Fate, 37, 68, 118, 121.
Pilgrimage from Rome to Jerusalem, 140, 193.

Rain-charm, 35.
Reviews—
Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Vol. IV), 46.
Annual Report of the Department of Health for 1923, 47.
Orte und Wege Jesu (Dalman), 49.
Applied Entomology of Palestine (Buxton), 49.
History of Jaffa (Tolkowsky), 96.
Journ. of the Pal. Oriental Soc. (Vol. V, No. 1), 99.
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 101.
Early Hebrew History (Wiener), 104.
Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder (Dalman), 216.
New Maps of Jerusalem. *See also* 99 sqq., 151 sqq.

Samaria, Harvard Excavations at, 25.
"Semitic" type, 39.

"Third Wall" of Jerusalem—supposed discovery, 172.
Tomb-stone, Inscribed Jewish, 207.
Transliteration, Table of, 52, 220.

Warren, Sir Charles, 54.
Weight, Hebrew Inscribed, 107.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

A YEAR has passed since the first Quarterly Report on the Excavation of the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem, and we can look back with satisfaction upon the solid results that have been recorded. It is true that nothing sensational has turned up of the sort that from time to time rewards the patient excavator. We have not discovered any historical inscription of the Hebrew monarchy, to set by the side of the Moabite inscription of king Mesha or the inscriptions of Panammu in North Syria. The Hebrew ostrakon which *might* have borne a message of intense interest has a less immediate importance, and the progress which has been recorded quarter by quarter has been of a value which is not immediately recognised by those who look only for striking results. Mr. Duncan has succeeded in clearing up many minor problems; and the discoveries he has made of the old wall of Jerusalem are an achievement upon which he is to be congratulated. We know more of ancient Jerusalem than we did a year ago, and the very nature of the "finds" are a sufficient guarantee that discoveries of more recognizable importance may be made at any moment. It is too early to present a complete picture of what has been added to our knowledge of the great sacred city, but thanks to the numerous minor objects we can see more into the life of the Jebusites and later inhabitants than ever we could a year ago.

Readers will find in the current number an account by Dr. Masterman of the fine American publication of the excavations at Samaria; Canon Hanauer contributes to the study of Syrian folk-lore, and Dr. Salaman gives the first half of a paper dealing with the Philistines. Here, on the basis of biological investigation and the monuments, arguments are given for the view that one of the current Jewish types is partly of Philistine (ultimately Aegean) origin, and that Philistines and Jews intermarried to a far greater extent than has ever been guessed. Dr. Salaman's paper is an interesting and important contribution to questions of Israelite history and ethnology.

The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem has published the second of its Supplementary Papers in the shape of a study by Mr. K. A. C. Cresswell on "the Origin of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock." It is a scholarly and valuable treatment of the question, based upon a very wide knowledge of Mohammedan architecture, on which he is an authority, and shows that the plan may be regarded as thoroughly Syrian.

The School has not yet elected a resident Student Librarian. The Post which carries with it an honorarium of £100, will afford ample opportunity for study and for attending the School course; and Candidates, who must have passed a University in Archaeology, Classics or Oriental Languages, should apply in writing to the Hon. Sec., 2, Hinde Street, London, W. 1.

In the October bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Prof. Albright reports that in the second of the famous painted tombs at Marissa (now cleared out by the Department of Antiquities), Mr. W. D. Carroll discovered an Aramaic *graffito* in three lines, hitherto unnoticed. It appears to be of the second century B.C.; but unfortunately a third of it is almost illegible. We look forward keenly to its publication. It is a most interesting addition to the history of Aramaic paleography, coming, as it does, between the Egyptian Aramaic papyri (fifth century) and the Jewish ossuaries, and between the script of 'Arāk el-Emir and

the Nabataean inscriptions. It may be mentioned that further light is thrown upon Marissa by Papyrus No. 70 of the "Archives of Zeno," discussed by Father Jaussen in the *Revue Biblique*, Oct., pp. 566 *sqq*. It illustrates the persistence of the slave traffic carried on by the Idumaeans and well known in earlier times.

The University of Michigan Expedition under Prof. D. M. Robinson has discovered a fine Christian Basilica at Antioch of Pisidia. Beneath the nave was found a mosaic floor of an earlier church of the fourth century A.D. The size of the building presupposes a very important ecclesiastical organization which may have grown out of the group of the faithful converted by St. Paul.

Subscribers resident in Jerusalem are kindly asked to note that Lady Watson, widow of Colonel Sir Charles Watson, R.E., late Chairman of the P.E.F. Committee, has kindly consented to act as Hon. Local Secretary for Jerusalem in succession to Mrs. Barron who has left the country. Subscriptions and enquiries as to Membership should be addressed, Lady Watson, P.O. Box 102, Jerusalem.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s*. 6*d*., and to non-subscribers 3*s*.; postage 6*d*. extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 5 *sq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
From the British Academy, second contribution towards the Ophel excavations from the Schweich Trust	333	6	8
Charles Marston, Esq. (third contribution towards the Ophel excavation) ...	250	0	0
Mrs. A. E. Laidlay (Life Member)	26	10	0
George Mathieson, Esq.	10	0	0
Rev. Telford Varley...	5	5	0
John Bruce, Esq.	5	0	0
Lewis Meryon, Esq.	5	0	0
Prof. Hugo Gressman	2	2	0
Sir George King	1	1	0
Robert A. Penny, Esq.	1	1	0
H. Smurthwaite, Esq.	1	1	0
Miss Louisa Toase	1	0	0
Rev. H. E. Whateley	1	0	0
G. B. Beeman, Esq.	0	10	6

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

The Near East. Special letters from Palestine, etc.

The Origin of the Plan of the Dome of the Rock. British School of Archaeology, supplementary papers, 2, 1924. By K. A. C. Creswell.

The Expository Times, Dec. : Telescoped history, by Prof. J. E. McFadyen.

A Sumerian Reading Book. By C. J. Gadd (Oxford, 1924).

Early Hebrew History and other Studies. By Harold M. Wiener (Scott, London, 1924). (Includes essays on the Law of Change in the Bible and the Biblical Doctrines of Joint, Hereditary and Individual Responsibility).

The New Judaea, Nov. 21. Prof. Patrick Geddes and others on the Hebrew University.

The Zionist Review.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Oct. : Researches in Western Judaea, by Prof. Albright (several new identifications, e.g., "Tell el-Hesi is almost certainly Eglon").

The Museum Journal (University of Pennsylvania), June: The Expedition to Palestine, by Dr. Clarence S. Fisher; September, The Church at Beisan, by the same (photographs of Beisan as seen from the air).

Homiletic Review.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nov.

Art and Archaeology, October: Movie realism and archaeological fact: Ancient Egypt in the Movies, etc., by Bruce Bryan; the Art of the Mayas, by Dudley Corlett.

Jewish Quarterly Review.

Geographical Review.

Journal Asiatique.

Revue Biblique, Oct.: L'aurore de l'histoire babylonienne, by R. P. P. Dhorme; les Achéens dans les Textes de Boghaz-keui, by the same; le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne, by R. P. J.-A.-Jaussen; Marisa et la traite des esclaves en Idumée, by R. P. F.-M. Abel; Découvertes récentes à Beit Djebrin, by the same.

Bulletin de correspondance Hellénique.

Conscientia (Rome).

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient., Oct.: Die rechts-und die linksansicht im ägypt. Reliefstil; by H. Bonnet.

Epigraphisches aus Syrien, I and II (Göttingen). By Prof. M. Lidzbarski. (Notes on ossuaries discovered at Beth-phage and the Kidron valley, also on a Phoenician inscription from Byblus said to be of the XIIIth cent. B.C.)

Bible Lands, Oct.: Educational work in Palestine, by Rev. E. W. Hamond.

NEA ΣΙΩΝ.

Al-Mashrik.

See below, p. 51 *sq.*

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I, *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

FIFTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF THE EASTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM.

The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

§ 1. *Progress of the Work.*

During the past three months the work has been carried on partly in Field 9 and partly on the face of the Eastern Wall. In Field 9 we have continued the exposure of the outer and the inner walls, clearing the space between them to a depth of about 20 feet or more. In the course of this clearance we have again uncovered the Sewer which we found passing over the "Crematorium" in Field 7.[1] All through this part of the site pottery and small objects have been found in considerable quantity. The section of the field south of the sewer has, however, yielded other results of great importance. These are described below. Unfortunately, in November, heavy rain came unexpectedly, and this sewer, which is not in good condition, threatened to give way. The rock-cut Cistern, described below, became three-quarters full of sewage. After consultation with the sanitary engineer we decided to fill in that section of the pit, as there was no time for his men to wall in the sewer with stone and lime. When we reopen it, this will probably be done.

The North Bastion and the Tower have been exposed to view to a depth of 33 feet from the present level of occupation above the tower; but at one point we cut a deep trench from the face of the tower out to the face of the slope. This trench is 15 feet deeper than the platform before the tower, and is intended to

[1] This sewer is apparently that described by Dr. Selah Merrill in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 392–394. There is a sketch plan. I ascended it a great part of its length when the people of Silwan first opened it. It appeared to be mediaeval Arab work.—E. W. G. M.

drain away the winter rains. When a stone drain has been built in the bottom of it the trench will be refilled. The trench, however, yielded much important information in the matter of stratification, as bearing on the date of the building of the tower.

There still remains a section of the slope to be cleared away in front of the outer wall and South Bastion. The fact that the public pathway to the Virgin's Fountain and Siloam passed over this point hindered operations, but a new pathway has now been made a little further down, and this clearance will be the first work undertaken when we resume in the spring.

Field 9 has been excavated almost to the extreme southern limit, and in the last section we have gone down to the rock.

North of the sewer, however, we have yet to go a little deeper in order to expose the foundations of the outer wall. The eastern front of this outer wall is also only partially cleared; and, as will be seen below, just before closing down we were much surprised by the discovery of a second and later outer wall, built on the ruined summit of the older rampart.

Though the soil is very hard and progress has to be careful, the inflow of pottery, etc., has proved a ceaseless stream, which I have sometimes found it hard to deal with day by day. The inrush of water from the sewer into Pit 9 C made it impossible to get an exact plan of this section done, but I have done a sketch plan, and it has all been carefully photographed. When it is reopened we hope to clear out the cistern to the bottom, and a correct plan of all the rock-cuttings in this pit can then be secured.

We are fortunate in having avoided both accident and friction in the carrying out of operations, where either might have occurred at any moment. The discovery, which perhaps aroused most curiosity among our Arab neighbours, was a human skeleton found in a heap of stones a few feet out from the north corner of the tower.

I had intended to give here a description of the Roman and Arab strata, but these will have to be postponed till next report, when I hope also to be able to give a more detailed account of the pottery of the various periods.

It is my pleasant duty again to record my indebtedness to Prof. Garstang for kindly assistance, and to many other friends who continue to take the deepest interest in the progress of the work.

§ 2. *The Continuation of the Eastern Walls in Field* 9.

At the point in the two walls where our Report in the October *Q.S.* leaves off, we struck again the sewage drain which passed over the "Crematorium" in Field 7. The sewer of Fields 7 and 9 has been cut right through the ancient Jebusite wall, crosses the 27 feet space between the two walls, and breaks through the outer wall which we have tentatively attributed to Hezekiah, after which it

Fig. 1.—Jebusite Wall, section North of Sewer.

descends steeply into the Kidron Valley. It has therefore caused considerable injury to both walls. In fact, while the Jebusite wall is found abutting close on the north edge of this sewer it completely vanishes at some 12 feet on the south side of it.

Just north of the sewer we have found one of the finest specimens of Jebusite masonry yet secured (see Fig. 1). Immediately

Fig. 2.—Early Hebrew Wall, in line with old Jebusite Inner Wall.

Fig. 3.—Rock-chamber, showing Broken Roof and Circular Shaft, with Steps leading down to Roof.

A
B

C

south of it there are undoubtedly remains of Jebusite walls for the distance of about 12 feet; but they are so cut up by the builders of the sewer, that the shape and dressing of the boulders left are our only proof that they belonged to the outer face of the ancient Jebusite rampart.

At this point, 12 feet south of the sewer, the original outer face of the Jebusite wall has been replaced by a stretch of finer masonry, 18 feet high, of which a length of $21\frac{1}{2}$ feet has been uncovered. This wall rests on the rock scarp and runs in direct line with the face of the Jebusite wall further north. We venture to attribute this wall of fine masonry to the time of David for reasons given below.

The chief characteristics of the masonry of this wall are:— (1) It is built of hammer-dressed stones of no great size, and not squared, but of rough contour. (2) The interstices between the larger stones are filled up with the chips made in breaking down boulders, which probably belonged originally to the old Jebusite wall. (3) There is a 6 inch projection or false break at $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet, similar to what we noted on the Hezekiah or Outer Wall, intended to bring the wall round to the proper direction. Here the building is noteworthy for the fact that the corner-masonry is good, showing the long face and the narrow face of well-shaped stones alternately, exactly as we should expect in first-class masonry. As the photograph shows, the masonry presents a finely finished appearance. Mortar has been freely used between the courses and in filling the interstices, but the face is not plastered over. (4) The courses are not regular as in the Solomonic building on the upper portion of the tower, but resemble rather the lower courses of the tower, though the blocks are smaller. It differs also from the Hezekiah outer wall in that the latter had apparently been well plastered over the surface. (See Fig. 2).

As the pottery found at the level of the rock scarp underneath this wall and below that level was all very early Hebrew or Third Bronze, and the layers of the stratification above this showed regularity of deposit, we infer that this wall is a Hebrew wall of early date. It is probably a Davidic repair on the outer face of the old Jebusite wall.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the term "Hebrew" is used instead of "Israelite," which is preferred by some.

The outer or Hezekiah wall has apparently suffered destruction for some 8 to 10 feet north of where the sewer cuts through it, and the gap has been filled in by later builders. On the south side of the sewer we find 15 feet of the face of a fine wall. About 4 feet from the south edge of the sewer—a space filled by one block almost 4 feet square—there is an opening 5 feet in width. It is possible that this opening may be due to two blocks having been removed, but the remains of a side jamb makes it much more likely that this was a gate: either that of a large house or possibly a postern in some late repair of the cut wall.

A peculiarity of this section C of Field 9 (the section south of the sewer) is that both the inner and the outer walls *stand on the rock-scarp*, which runs several yards outwards towards the east at this point. So far we have not excavated deep enough to be certain, but the Hezekiah outer wall in section 9A appears to rest on accumulated debris. Nor have we found the rock-surface under the large tower, though we have gone down to a depth of 48 to 50 feet.

An Ancient Cistern.

This rock-surface in 9C is of great interest. About the centre of it, just south of the sewer, we have found a rock-chamber measuring about 13 feet by 12 feet. This chamber has been cleared to a depth of 10 feet, but at that point we had to stop work on account of water, which was filtering in from the sewer. Originally the chamber was hollowed out of the rock. At its south-west corner, and quite outside its area, is a circular shaft (see Plate 1, Fig. 3), which measures about 3 feet in diameter and goes down to a depth of 4 to 5 feet. At that depth an irregular opening leads into the chamber. It would appear that the whole chamber had been carved out of the solid rock beginning from this opening, and the debris was passed through this opening and out by this shaft. This left a completely enclosed chamber in the solid rock, the only entrance to which was by the circular shaft, which could very easily be closed.

Three steps were cut in the rock-surface just south of the shaft leading down to the roof of the chamber. A little to the south of this shaft is another circular cutting which had been begun and left unfinished. Probably the roof of this rock chamber had been smashed in, probably by quarriers, in Roman times. The Romans

Fig. 6.—West face of Hellenistic Wall and Gate Tower.

Fig. 7.—West face of Hellenistic Wall, showing how it stands on the Older "Hezekiah" Wall.

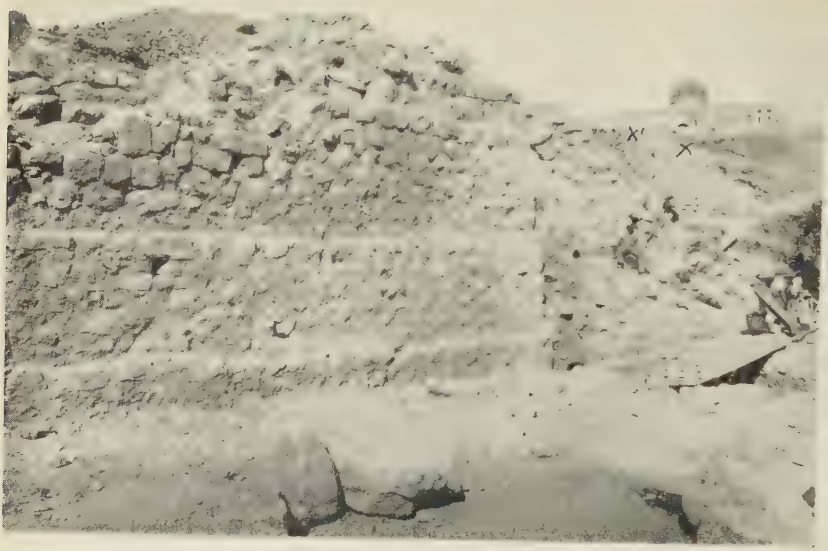


Fig. 9.—North Bastion, view from North.

Fig. 10.—North Bastion, view from South.

had also filled up the chamber with stones and debris from close by. The latest pottery found in it, as far as we went down, was Maccabaean, a fact which inclines me to think that the chamber was filled up in late Maccabaean or in Roman times. The south-east corner of the chamber had been roughly walled off. This rough wall begins about 5 feet down and continued as far as we excavated. The masonry indicates that this was added later, though we have found nothing so far to indicate what was the purpose of this walled-off corner.

The chamber had been covered over its whole interior surface, *including the roof*, with a strong plaster of ground lime and chips of stone. This plaster is about ¾ inch thick ; there was only one coat. This plaster indicates that the cults was a cistern. It is, however, possible that the original purpose of the chamber was something different ; it might, for instance, have been a burial chamber. We found bones of at least two human skeletons in the filling at about 10 feet down ; but, as we presume the chamber was filled up at a late date, nothing can be inferred from these. Round the entrance to the chamber the whole surface of the rock has been extensively quarried.

The tooling on this perpendicular scarp differs from that on early cuttings inscribed in connexion with Fields 5 and 7, only in the fact that a broader pointed tool has been used. Otherwise the surface effect is similar. As we have not yet removed the plaster from the walls of the rock chamber we cannot say if the tooling on them is the same or not.

Field 9.—*The Continuation of the Hellenistic Wall Northward.*

Just a few feet north of the point where the sewer cuts through the outer wall, and in the last three or four days' work, we uncovered the outer face of this Greek wall for a distance of 25 feet. This outer face consists of large oblong blocks of stone carefully dressed and all cut to the same depth. They are only about 12 inches in thickness. In the first stretch of 15 feet from the sewer end there are only 9 blocks in the three courses left. There are 6 blocks in the lower course of these dressed stones. Thus the blocks average 2½ feet in length and each block is 27 inches high.

Above this lower course is another course, only two blocks of which remain. These two together are 7 feet 2 inches in length and stand 27 inches high. All these 8 blocks of the southern section A

(see Fig. 4) are not only dressed with a pointed tool, but have been (afterwards) combed with an eight-tooth comb. The third course consists of only one block *in situ*. This section (A) rests on a foundation course of well-dressed stones. These project underneath the wall 12 inches at the south end, and 6 inches at the north end of this section, and the blocks average 15 inches in depth. Whether this foundation goes deeper or not, we have not yet ascertained.

This section (A) extends for about 15 feet. At its north end there is a break, stones having been removed. The northern section of this outer face is slightly different masonry, as the photograph

Fig. 8.—Stone of Hellenistic Wall left *in situ*.

shows. The blocks are massive and similarly dressed, except that there is no combing, but the courses are irregular, and there is no projecting ridge foundation. The blocks rest simply on the accumulated debris. It covers a stretch of 10 feet, and joins on to the section of Greek wall, already spoken of in the October *Quarterly Statement*, p. 169, thus solving the problem of this narrow wall built on the surface of the Hezekiah outer wall (see Fig. 5). This Hellenistic wall is only $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad. It had been faced on both sides with these beautifully dressed and large blocks above described.

The wall ran from the Gate Tower at the south end of Field 9 to the boundary of Field 7, and on the top of the Hezekiah wall; but neither its outer, nor its inner face, coincided with the inner or outer face of the Hezekiah wall. In fact, its inner face does not run parallel with the inner face of the latter. At the north end of Field 9 its inner face is only 2 feet back from the face of the Hezekiah wall, while at the sewer it is quite 6–8 feet. Thus this later wall runs diagonally along the Hezekiah wall, but in Field 7 it has reassumed the proper direction, for the only block found there *in situ* (buried under a fig-tree which we removed) is placed flush with the inner face of the Hezekiah wall in that field. (See Figs. 6, 7 and 8).

Thus we find that this later wall, which we suggest is Hellenistic, runs from the tower straight down the surface of the older Hezekiah outer wall through Field 7, and as far as we have excavated in Field 9, a distance of about 100 yards. Further, the builders of it, in Field 9 at least, do not seem to have known that they were building on the top of an older wall, or, if they knew, they did not choose to follow its direction, for at 40 feet from the north boundary of Field 9, the outer face of their wall is several feet east of the outer face of the older wall, while at the north boundary it is seven or eight feet inside of it.

The foundations of this Hellenistic wall are only about $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the present level of occupation, which however has been considerably denuded in this part of Ophel in late years. At that depth on the face of the walls we were finding Maccabaean pottery, many fragments of Greek black burnished ware and some fragments of early Hebrew pottery. At a higher level we found fragments of Roman and Arab ware. This seems to date the wall in the Hellenistic period.

§ 3. *The North Bastion and the Tower.*

Part of the last three months has also been spent in clearing away the debris from the face of the North Bastion and the Tower, down to the level at which the Department of Antiquities desired them to be exposed. We have cleared away to a depth of 35 feet below the present surface level of occupation at the face of the tower. This means the clearance of a triangular section measuring about 100 feet long, with a perpendicular depth at the tower face

of 35 feet, and a base of about 45 feet. As the debris was very hard packed and full of large stones, and as the problem of dumping was difficult all through, this meant slow progress. A great part of the debris had to be carried up the slope and deposited in Field 5 behind the tower, until permission was given to throw it down the slope of the Kidron Valley.

In front of the tower the stratification has proved very useful and instructive, an enormous quantity of potsherds of every period being recovered from the various layers, which follow the natural sequence. In front of the north bastion, however, the stratification, as already indicated, gives evidence of a great sweep out of the city about Maccabaean times : Maccabaean pottery being found mixed with Hebrew and even Third Bronze, as far down even as 25 feet. Below that depth, however, Maccabaean pottery disappears, and only early Hebrew and pottery of the Bronze Age were found at 25 to 33 feet depth.

An interesting feature of the stratification in front of the tower is the fact that on the outer fringe we found very early Canaanite and Hebrew pottery at 30 to 33 feet beneath the surface level above the tower. This simply means that when the tower was made the builders cut a deep trench, extending to at least 8 feet out from the face of the tower, and spread the rubbish on the outer fringe of the slope.

The outer fringe of the slope, however, at that period was only a little over 20 feet out from the face of the tower. To-day the outer fringe is 45 feet out from the tower face. In the inner section of this outer 24 feet fringe, therefore, we found the early pottery, which had been thrown out with the debris from the foundation trench. But beyond that layer we found later pottery, Greek, Maccabaean and Arab in their respective sequence. Practically no Roman pottery was found here, though ballista balls were picked up in numbers. Byzantine remains are completely absent. The sweep-out of the city therefore dates prior to the Roman occupation.

At the level of the top of the foundation wall of the tower the stratification is broken by a broad flat belt of debris. This is obviously the debris levelled down by the builders after they finished.

Above this belt and beneath it, we find the stratification layers in their proper sequence. The upper layers are the debris

Fig. 11.—Hebrew Ring-burnished Water Jugs.

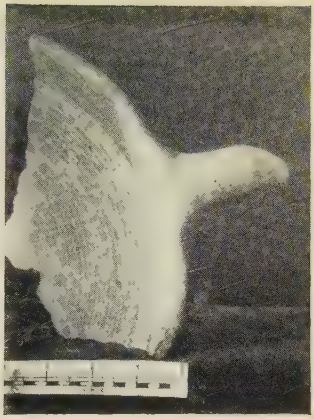


Fig. 12.—Hebrew Ring-burnished Dish.

Fig. 13.—Hebrew Lid and Spout.

Fig. 15.—Hebrew Painted Pottery.

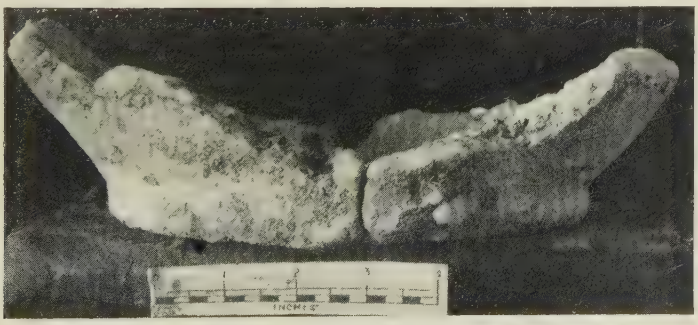


Fig. 14.—Hebrew Heavy Ware.

§ 4. *The Hebrew Period.*

Pottery continues to pour in. It has been no uncommon experience to pass as many as 1,000, and even 1,500, fragments through my hands in one day's work. This pottery represents every period, except Roman and Byzantine, but pottery of the Third Bronze period, the Transition period, and Pre-exilic and Post-exilic Hebrew pottery are specially well represented.

Of Transition period and Early Hebrew pottery the following are some of the more notable types found :—

1. A fine collection of lamps. Some of these are the flat base lamps with pinched spouts, and the others are of the same type but with heavy bases attached. These have been picked up in great numbers, some quite perfect. They are illustrated in the October *Q.S.*, Plate IV, p. 175.

2. Next to these in quantity is our collection of red ring-burnished ware. Most of these specimens are pebble-burnished though some are wheel-burnished. Two specimens of one-handle water jugs of this ring-burnished ware are shown on Fig. 11. The most interesting specimen, however, is the ring-burnished red flat dish with smooth horizontal project handle attached, shown on Fig. 12. It had originally measured 13 inches in diameter, and the ware is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick. The handle had been about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. It is pebble-burnished inside. The handle has been pebble-burnished by hand, and the potter also burnished a portion of the underside. Its depth is 1 inch. This specimen was found at a depth of only 8 feet in front of the small tower north of the North Bastion, where we found the sequence of the pottery had been inverted.

3. Jar handles and sherds of the heavier types of Early Hebrew pottery have been found in great numbers.

4. The rims of neckless meal-bowls are also very numerous. These vary in breadth from 1 inch to $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The older specimens are all smooth and plain, but those of post-exilic date and of the Persian period are frequently fluted and usually narrower.

5. Fragments of pottery lids with bevelled edge (Fig. 13 above), and a knob handle are not of uncommon occurrence.

6. One uncommon specimen is the long "pouring" spout with acute bend close to where it leaves the body of the jug (Fig. 13 below).

Several of these have been found. Some are almost exact reproductions of the shape of a ram's horn, and I have named them accordingly.

7. Many sherds of very heavy ware, such as is illustrated on Fig. 14, have been picked up. These are often covered with a coat of lime plaster. The illustration shows the base of some such vessel. The ware averages 1 inch in thickness.

8. Fig. 15 shows three specimens of Hebrew painted ware. The specimen in the centre is the interior of the base of a large basin. The other two are fragments of vessels painted externally.

9. Specimens of Hebrew pottery of the Persian Period with its bright yellow slip are of frequent occurrence.

Fig. 18.—Syro-Egyptian Heads.

10. Figs. 16 and 17 show twenty different varieties of Potters' Stamps on jar handles of both the post-exilic and the pre-exilic periods.

11. Fragments of terra-cotta figurines continue to be found in considerable numbers, especially at a certain portion of the wall, where most of the inscribed jar-handles have been found. Figs. 18 and 19 show two Syro-Egyptian heads of such figurines. The larger one was painted white with the braids of hair picked out in red. The smaller has been painted white, but shows no trace of red paint. These probably date about 600 B.C. A third and fine Egyptian head has just been brought in. Traces of white and red paint are visible on it.

12. A pseudo-Egyptian scarab, found in the layer 30–33 feet down the face of the large tower, purports to bear a name which

some here think may be an attempt to reproduce the name of Thothmes III, Ra-Men Kheper. If so, the artist has been singularly unsuccessful in his imitation. It is, however, beautifully carved and shaped. The colour is a light blue, and the letters, etc., on the face of it had been coloured red. It is certainly not a genuine Egyptian scarab.

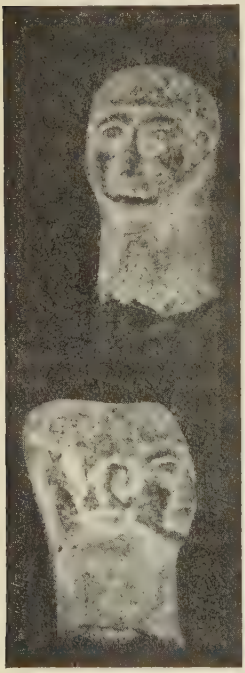


Fig. 19.—Egyptian Head, front and side view.

13. These are some of the more interesting features among the remains of the Hebrew occupation discovered. The most interesting, however, are the inscribed Hebrew jar-handles, which we continue to find, most of them from the same spot. Our collection now numbers over sixty, and these represent eight different types of inscription and stamp. (*a*) Those with only the letter *yodh* deeply stamped. These are late pottery, showing that, as the custom of stamping them with the name Yahweh got to be known, the first letter came to be regarded as sufficient. (*b*) Those with the two letters יה; (*c*) those with יהו; (*d*) with four letters arranged round a circular stamp — apparently יהבע and יהבט. (*e*) Seal of Solomon stamps with five letters. (*f*) Stamps with the double-winged figure, and letters arranged round them; למלך stamps as found elsewhere; (*g*) one which in the October *Q.S.* we described as probably Hittite, and (*h*) stamps bearing the figure of a lion with no inscription. It is possible that there may prove to be more types in our collection, and I hope to be able to give a complete account of them all, with drawings or photographs, in the next number of the *Q.S.*

§ 4. *The Selucid and Maccabaean Period.*

In the pottery found outside the face of the Eastern Wall the Hellenistic period has never been unrepresented, but in our later work it has been very much more in evidence.

1. The most striking and conclusive specimens belong to the *highly-burnished Greek Black Ware.* Many fragments of platters, and saucers of this type of imported pottery have been found, some of them almost complete. Specimens of this ware have been found also between the inner and the outer wall in Field 9, but especially outside the face of the Hellenistic Wall above described.

2. Along with this highly-burnished ware, we frequently find specimens of a coarser ware which appears to be painted black. These very frequently have fine embossed designs on them and are Maccabaean work. The surface is glossy black, but the makers have not had the proper material or have not known the method, for the work is poor in comparison with the Greek original, and easily recognisable. The colouring and designs on these can best be reproduced in drawings.

3. An even poorer class of ware of the Maccabaean period is what I have named burned-black, since the ware has been baked black, or carbonised all through probably by the exclusion of air in the baking, no attempt being made afterwards to burnish or paint it. The surface is therefore a dead black and somewhat coarse. Bowls and saucers of this ware are of frequent occurrence.

4. Many black lamps of this period have been found—some with double knobs on each side, others with a single small knob projecting near the spout on the right side.

5. Specimens also of brown painted pottery of this period are frequent. Fig. 20 shows the rim of a large platter of this brown-painted ware with a flower and scroll decoration in white running round the rim.

6. The highly-burnished red ware is illustrated on the same photograph.

7. We have picked up also several basketsful of a thick roughly-baked dark red ware, which are apparently slabs of Maccabaean ovens. These are so invariably found with pottery indisputably Maccabaean that their date is practically certain, and they have become a sure means of dating other pottery found with them. They measure from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in thickness, show always very slightly convex and concave sides as if they belonged to very large vessels, and are frequently rubbed or burnished to a fine smooth hard surface in the interior. As no trace of any handle belonging to this ware has ever been found, we conclude these were ovens, especially as we find them so frequently blackened with smoke.

8. Another type of Maccabaean pottery of which we have found only a very few specimens is a mottled greenish-grey ware. The mottled effect is due to the presence of finely-ground white grit spread all over its surface. This ware is only about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch or less in thickness.

9. A few specimens have been found of ribbed pottery of a ware closely resembling 8, and with white bands painted over it without any particular design, and the ordinary ribbed pottery of the usual thin Maccabaean type is found all over the site.

10. Another unusual type, of which only a very few specimens have been found, is a somewhat coarse ware, about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in thickness, with punched hole decoration all over it. (Fig. 21.)

11. A rather fine small bowl of pottery with incised pattern, is shown on Fig. 22; it seems to show clear traces of Greek influence.

12. Rhodian Jar Handles—Altogether 600–800 of these Inscribed Handles have been picked up, all of them within a space of 200 to 300 feet along the outside of the Eastern Wall. They date from about 300 B.C. down to Christian times perhaps. All of them are of interest for their bearing on Greek Epigraphy of that period, but some are of special interest.

§ 5. *Greek Carving.*

Several objects of carved ivory and bone, such as fragments of handles, etc., some of which, at least, belong to the Hellenistic period, have been found. Of these the best are reproduced in Fig. 23. One is an ivory handle on which the carved design is coloured black. The other is a very fine piece of carving in ivory, and evidently represents a warrior king holding a captive maiden, who, by the position of her foot, seems to be struggling for her freedom. The right knee and the left foot of the maiden are all that remain of her figure, but the position of both indicates a struggling posture. The short dagger in the warrior's right hand indicates that he is leading her to an unwilling death. Is it possible that here we have got a representation in ivory of the sacrifice of Iphigenia by her father?

§ 6. *Objects in Stone.*

Among stone objects found are three boxes of the Seleucid period, or earlier, such as are illustrated in Handcock, p. 163, Fig. 41, No. 3. One of them is of slate stone and has panelled sides. The other

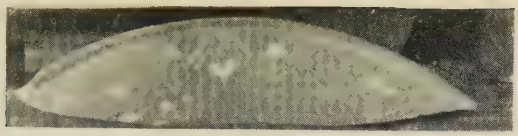


Fig. 20.—Maccabaean Ware.

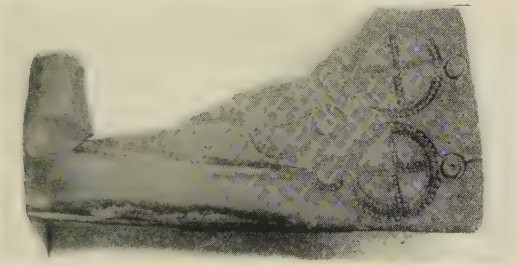


Fig. 21.—Slate Mould.

Fig. 22.—Maccabaean Bowl.

Fig. 23.—Ivory Carving (Greek).

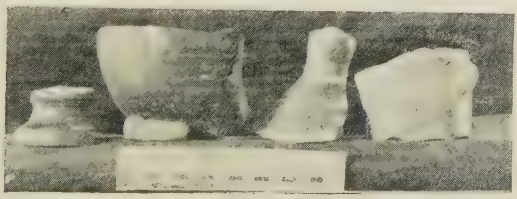


Fig. 24.—Moulds.

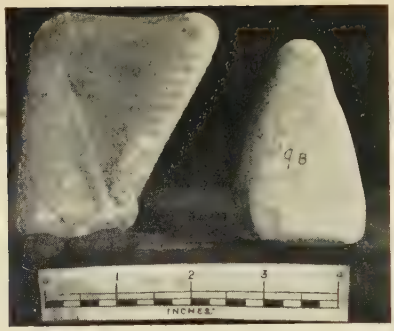


Fig. 25.—Cone Weights.

Fig. 26.—Pottery Weights with Strange Marks.

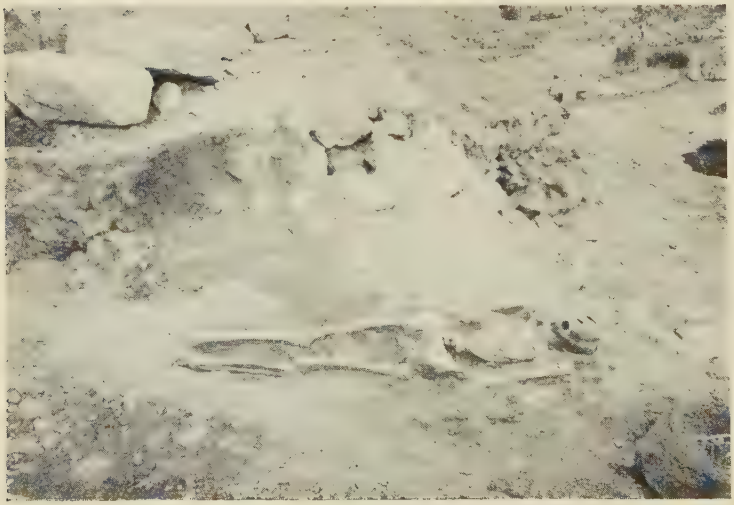


Fig. 27.—Skeleton, found in front of the Tower.

is of a black stone, and is smooth and unadorned. Both of these are, however, hollowed underneath, so that the four corners serve as four feet. The third is of rough limestone, and is decorated with two roughly incised parallel lines running round the body. The base is flat. Each of them is about 3 inches square and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches deep.

A Hebrew stone bowl (*cf.* Handcock, p. 159, Fig. 40, No. 12), carved from a rough round lump of limestone, was also found. No effort has been made to give form to the exterior, but the interior is finely hollowed, so that it presents a very delicately smooth surface.

Several stone moulds, which seem to belong to the Maccabaean period, have been found both in Field 7 and Field 9. The finest of these (Fig. 24) is very carefully carved in slate-stone, and seems to be a mould for making gold ornaments. The reverse has a mould, somewhat similar but on a smaller scale, for making finer pendants. On both sides channels are carved for the gold to run down into the moulds proper. Another is a very much rougher mould in hard limestone, evidently for the making of rough brass discs, the moulds being connected by channels for the molten metal to flow from one to the other.

The Maccabaean layer, on the face of the Tower, and at other points where the stratification has not been disturbed, has yielded valuable evidence as to the date of the round-flat stone weights and the cone-shaped weights, which have been found in great abundance all over the site. It now appears that these weights, which we were inclined to date as probably Byzantine in our account of Field 5, belong really to the Seleucid and Maccabaean period. It seems, therefore, that I was right in referring these to the latest Hebrew standard. There remain still some hundreds of these stone weights to be dealt with.

A number of small stone weights have been found chiefly at the face of the North Bastion and Tower. These are of hematite, and naturally weigh heavy for their size in comparison with the others which are of white marble, quartz, or limestone. All the marked weights have the familiar mark γ; *cf.* Macalister, *Gezer*, vol. ii, p. 287. Further particulars will be given later.

Fig. 25 shows what seems to be a white marble weight of unusual shape. It is a cone weight with a sort of wing-handle attached to the side. Two weights in pottery bear marks which are puzzling

(Fig. 26). These seem to be of quite an early period and come from a considerable depth (*c.* 16 feet) between the walls in Field 9A and 9C. It would be premature to speculate upon the meaning of the marks on them.

§ 7. *A Skeleton.*

In cutting the trench in front of the Tower to serve as a drain, on the north edge of the trench, at a point 26 feet out from the north corner of the Tower and 12 feet perpendicular depth from the sloping surface of the debris, we found a Skeleton lying above a mass of stones and covered by a mass of stones of the same size. These stones are rough sharp-edged lumps such as would be broken off larger boulders by builders in shaping blocks. None of them are larger than can be easily thrown about by hand. The skeleton which is 5 feet long is perhaps that of a woman (?) with drawn up shoulders and bent spine. The head lies lower than the feet. Every bone was found in position and only the ribs and the right femur show any trace of breakage. No trace of jewelry or clothing was found, not even the slightest discolouration on the scanty sand below the skeleton. If we judge by the depth and the pottery at that level, the skeleton may have lain there since late Maccabaean times, but it is equally possible that the woman was done to death and secretly put away at a much more recent date.[1] (See Fig. 27.)

JERUSALEM,
December, 1924.

[1] Prof. Macalister holds that the skeleton is decidedly male; it is difficult to recognize the pelvis on the photograph.

THE HARVARD EXCAVATIONS AT SAMARIA.

By Dr. E. W. G. Masterman.

Those who travel through Palestine, especially those who ride by the older route, carry away a vivid impression of the wonderful site of Samaria—the modern *Sebastiyeh*. It is a lofty hill marked out by nature for an ancient stronghold but of too wide an area for any but a capital city. Omri appropriately named it Shōmerōn, the watch tower (1 Kings xvi, 24). Shut in on three sides by ranges of hills, too distant to be perilous in the days of ancient warfare, it has an outlook westwards across a great broad vale to the sea, twenty miles away. Its strength of position is witnessed to by the length of the sieges it has endured. The beauty of the site appeals to all. Isaiah, in denouncing its moral delinquencies, describes it as the—"Faded flower of his glorious beauty which is on the head of the fat valley" (Isaiah xxviii, 4). To-day it is perhaps a "faded" flower but the destruction of her glorious palaces cannot obliterate the beauty of the fertile hill and vale.

The site has never been lost like that of many an ancient town. All through the Christian centuries wide scattered ruins have borne abundant evidence to the greatness of the city, renamed Sebaste, which Herod erected on the site.

But of the earlier city little has been known until recent years. The site is so vast that it may have deterred many a would-be explorer. All the more must we be grateful for the magnificent work of the Expedition which, under Dr. Reisner, excavated here some fourteen years ago on behalf of the University of Harvard. Those who knew the thoroughness of Dr. Reisner's work and were privileged to see the great scale in which it was done have impatiently awaited the publication of the results. These are now presented to us in two handsome volumes, copies of which have just been presented to our library. A brief account of the work will be of interest to many readers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

The story of the delays which attended the commencement of these excavations is a glaring example of the difficulties of all such archaeological work under the old Turkish regime. Dr. Reisner, supported by the influence of Theodore Roosevelt, then President of the United States, personally applied at Constantinople for a

permit to excavate this well-known site in November, 1905. Although this application had the warm support of Hamdy Bey, the Director of the Imperial Museum, the permit was not granted till 1907. The two years of delay had dislocated all the original plans and it was impossible for the explorers to make a start before the end of April, 1908. Dr. Reisner, assisted by Dr. Schumacher of Haifa, made a commencement at work, but after only five and a half days local difficulties compelled its suspension and Dr. Reisner had to withdraw with his staff of Egyptian workmen to Egypt. A second effort was made by Professor Lyon and Dr. Schumacher between May 22nd and June 3rd but interference by the local officials was soon renewed in an aggravated form. The position became so hopeless that these explorers had to undertake the long journey to Constantinople to have the affair settled. They had a most satisfactory interview with Hamdy Bey and his brother Khalîl Bey, and, at last, in July, they were able to set up their tents and get to work. The coming into power of the "Young Turks" at this juncture helped matters and a short excavation of four weeks was carried out. This was, however, preliminary to the more systematic and fully-equipped exploration which occupied much of 1909–1910. The greater part of the report deals with this latter period of systematic and thorough work carried out by the fully-equipped staff—Professor Reisner, Mr. Clarence Fisher and Mr. Otto Bates.

Unlike many ancient sites in Palestine the history of Samaria is comparatively short—a mere millenium—and all we know from historic records is abundantly confirmed by the archaeological finds. The city had no prehistoric past. It is the only city site in Palestine which was founded *de novo* by the Israelites. The Israelite buildings—*e.g.*, the palace of the city's founder, Omri—were built upon the rocky hill summit, the bareness of which is witnessed to by the abundant "cup marks" and rock cut olive presses over which the foundations were laid. Of the palace enough was found to show its general plan and that of its extensions by Ahab and Jeroboam II. The Israelitish city walls were massive. They have been only partially excavated, but the famous western gate of the city—visited by countless tourists—owed its first foundations to the Kings of Israel, though rebuilt again and again through the following centuries. After its destruction by Sargon the city rose to comparative importance and flourished from the 5th to the 1st Centuries B.C.

The ground plans of many large houses have been excavated but no great public buildings were discovered belonging to these centuries. The abundant Seleucid coins witness to the continued occupation of the site. Its complete destruction (107 B.C.) by John Hyrcanus as recorded by history is confirmed by the excavations. In connection with this it is worth quoting the interpretation given here of the account given by Josephus. He states (Ant. xiii, x, 3) that "when Hyrcanus had taken the city, which was not done till after a year's siege, he was not contented with doing that only but he demolished it entirely and brought rivulets to it to drown it, for he dug such hollows as might let the waters run under it; nay, he took away the very marks that there had ever been such a city there." This, which could not possibly be taken literally by those who know the site, is here paraphrased: "Hyrcanus completely wiped out the city, exposing it to the washing of the winter torrents, for, breaching it so that it fell in confused ruins into the gullies, he destroyed all signs that a city had existed." The excavations show that whatever Josephus himself had in mind the latter is the true account. History states that the city was restored by Galbanus (57–55 B.C.), and this is confirmed by the coins found—but the period of Samaria's architectural magnificence is due to Herod the Great. To raise his great temple high upon the summit above the surrounding houses he made a platform by constructing a massive retaining wall around the highest point of the hill and filling the space within by using extensively the ruins of earlier periods—producing thereby a perplexing puzzle to the archaeologist. Upon the level platform so formed he raised his temple, the foundations of which were the most impressive of the architectural remains uncovered on the site. To Herod's ambition also belong the Basilica (columns of which were visible before the excavations), the well-known street of columns and the greatest development of the western gateway.

The temple of Herod was renovated in the days of Septimus Severus but after this the city seems to have fallen into gradual decay and "during the Byzantine and Arab times the summit appears to have been a mass of ruined walls and fallen stones."

Such in brief is the history of the site. The hill is by no means fully excavated but enough has been found to show this work in building or distinction of the great rulers whose names associated with the city's history.

The outstanding features of general interest are—(1) *The Palace of the Kings of Israel*, (2) *The Western Gateway*, (3) *The Herodian Buildings*, and (4) *The Ostraka*.

(1) *The Plan of the Palace of Omri* can be determined because the rock outside its area was quarried away along the exterior lines of the building, leaving a solid core of rock with a perpendicular scarp as a base for the structure. This scarping stands out for its thoroughness. The rock surface itself was channelled to secure the foundation stones. The masonry used was, however, a local yellow limestone of poor quality. The plan was the common oriental one of a series of open courts with groups of rooms around. The central court was $55\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet. In the time of Ahab (875–851 B.C.) the size of this royal residence was greatly increased; the original palace remained the nucleus but wings were carried out slightly towards the west. "It must have had very much the appearance of one of the great Assyrian palaces." Just within the northern wall of this palace was a pool—the "Pool of Samaria"—33 feet long and $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, the bottom and sides of which were lined by a hard grey cement nearly 4 inches thick. The bottom of the pool was 15 feet below the level of the palace floor.

The palace was further extended during the reign of Jeroboam II and a great defensive tower with walls $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick was added at the south-west corner. The diameter of the tower was some 48 feet.

Some of the palace stones had mason's marks with Phoenician or Hebrew characters.

(2) *The Western Gate.*—At this site, which remained the chief entrance to the city through all its history, there was much reconstruction during successive ages, much of the earlier work was inevitably destroyed but enough remained of a great square bastion to show that in Israelitish times a city gateway stood here. Another bastion was built in the Greek period but the great rounded towers which survive to a considerable extent to-day belong to the massive fortifications of the enlarged city of the Roman period.

(3) *The Herodian Buildings.*—"During the Roman period the city attained its greatest extent and magnificence. Herod rebuilt the city on entirely new plans and with an enlarged area. The enclosing walls were re-erected considerably outside the old lines except at the western gate the site of which was still retained as

the main entrance to the city. Through the new area south of the summit a wide street with colonnades on either side was built from the gate eastward. This followed the contour of the hill along the foot of the cliff, which, until this period, had formed the limits of the city. On one of the eastern terraces of the hill was placed the Forum of the city (where the village threshing-floor now is) enclosed with a colonnade and with the Basilica at its western end. The highest point of the hill was reserved by Herod for a large temple in honour of his patron Augustus. This was erected on an artificial terrace the retaining walls of which, protected at the corners and at the sides with towers, were built largely on the old Greek Fort Wall. To the north-east of the Forum but considerably below it, a Hippodrome was laid out and farther along on the north side of the hill the conformation of the ground and protruding fragments of masonry indicate the site of a theatre."

The Great Temple.

The approach to the temple from the north was through a great forecourt some 70 yards long. The sides diverged so that while it was some 60 yards wide at its northern end it was 54 yards wide at the southern end where the great staircase commenced. At the foot of this staircase, a few feet inside the court, was an altar $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high.

In the debris east of the altar was found a mutilated marble statue of heroic size, which was probably that of Augustus.

The staircase was one of the most striking objects excavated. It extended the whole width of the building—some 70 feet—and consisted of two flights of twelve steps.

Of the temple and the adjoining buildings itself nothing remained but the foundations but these are sufficiently preserved to allow of a complete plan being made.

Both staircase and the temple and other buildings on the summit was considerably reconstructed by Severus and it is not always possible to disentangle with certainty which constructions belonged to the earlier building.

To the west of the Forum was the Basilica, consisting of a large central hall with open colonnades or aisles on three sides. Some of the columns are still standing *in situ* and two almost perfect Corinthian capitals were found in the debris. The central hall was

paved with stone, the side aisles with plain white mosaic with a narrow black border near the edges. At the northern end was a semi-circular tribunal with four concentric seats with moulded edges.

(4) *The Ostraka.*—In some of the chambers of Ahab's palace were found a number of inscribed potsherd bearing Hebrew inscriptions written with carbon ink. On epigraphical grounds the writing would be ascribed to the 8th or 9th century B.C. but the position in which they were found, in the lowest part of the debris of occupation, and the fact that in close association with them was found a dated Egyptian jar of the reign of Osorkon II, a contemporary of Ahab, makes it almost certain that they belong to the reign of this monarch. As the first objects of this kind found in Palestine these writings must always be of value and interest, and the finding of a similar fragment by the Rev. Garrow Duncan at Jerusalem raises hopes that with careful search and infinite caution in handling potsherds other inscriptions may yet be found.

These ostraka are from various types of jars and they are all dated in the year of some unnamed king's reign—probably Ahab's. They are notes of commercial transactions in oil or wine. There are 63 belonging to this group. In some cases where the fragments were found to fit together independent inscriptions had been written on each fragment suggesting that they were broken before use. The greatest interest in these inscriptions lies in the great number of personal and place names which occur. For a full discussion as well as a reproduction of the whole of the inscriptions with some obvious or probable restorations the reader is referred to the original work.

It only remains to add that the whole of these monographs has been magnificently produced. The first volume, though profusely illustrated, deals primarily with the report itself. There are scholarly sections on methods of work and detailed descriptions of the masonry, invaluable to other explorers. The second volume contains plans in colours showing the various archaeological strata and photographs of the excavations in every stage. A more thoroughly scientific and instructive report cannot be conceived.

FOLK-LORE AND OTHER NOTES FROM DAMASCUS, Etc.

By Rev. Canon J. E. Hanauer.

1. The Tekiyeh (Hospice, or Almshouse), founded by Sultan Selim I, about A.D. 1516, for the accommodation of Moslem pilgrims on their way to Mecca, is one of the first buildings deserving notice on reaching Damascus from the West and after passing the great "Hamidiyeh" Military Hospital close to the Baramkeh railway station. Its large low dome, evidently suggested by that of the St. Sophia Church at Constantinople, and its two slender minarets with many-sided shafts, are conspicuous at a distance. Connected with the twin minarets is a legend worthy of note, because almost identical with one related by English visitors of two towers belonging to Glasgow Cathedral. The tale is that, on completing the first of the minarets, the builder boasted that if any other architect could match it he would cast himself to the ground from its gallery. When his assistant accepted the challenge and successfully finished the second and exactly similar tower, he kept his word and died in the way he said he would. It would be interesting to know whether other versions of this story are related in connection with other towers in Europe or elsewhere.

I have been told by credible persons that, during Turkish rule, all the old and filled-up Government and Municipality registers, account-books, etc., at Damascus used, in order to be "out of the way," to be dumped in chambers in the Tekiyeh, and that in lawsuits dealing with land, the litigants were often obliged either to go themselves to the place and hunt for entries in these archives, or employ reliable persons to do so for them. As there was no official in responsible charge of these old books, and besides, pilgrims had free access to and sometimes used them as fuel, the condition of things, as far as law and justice were concerned, may be imagined.

2. Jobar.—During my stay at Damascus I several times visited this place which, according to local Jewish tradition, is the "Hobah," on the left hand, that is, north of Damascus, "to which Abraham pursued the kings of the East" (Genesis xiv, 15). I had been told that there were inscriptions on stones in the Mosque courtyard, but with the exception of a few small capitals and stone pedestals, found

nothing remarkable. The following, translated from a paper by J. Rivlin in No. 37 of the short-lived German military newspaper *Jilderim*, published at Damascus and dated 23rd September, 1918, will, I hope, not be deemed uninteresting.

"Jobar, the second largest village in the neighbourhood of Damascus, is situated at a distance of about half-an-hour's walk from Bab Tuma, the northern gate of the city. The people of Jobar have an evil reputation, illustrated by the saying that when a raven had dared to steal a walnut from a tree belonging to the village, the fellahin turned out with their guns and pursued the marauder as far as the village of Abun, an hour distant.

"There was a time when most of the inhabitants of Jobar were Jews. About eighty years ago there were many Jewish families living there. Now, however, all but a few have left the place. Those remaining reside in the spacious court of the synagogue, which, like many of the places visited in pilgrimage in the East, is intended to serve as a sort of hostel.

"To the right, on entering the court, one notices a well, the water of which is believed to bring health and good luck to whomsoever drinks thereof. In the right-hand corner of the court and opposite to the well stands the synagogue, which is one of the most ancient 'holy places' in the East, and, according to tradition, goes back to the time of Elisha the prophet. This opinion was held by the Jewish traveller, Rabbi Petakhia of Regensburg, who visited the East about A.D. 1175–80. (*See* Robinson's *Researches*, Vol. II.)

"The last repairs of the old building and fresh ornamentation of the Heikal, or 'Ark of the Covenant' (*i.e.*, the receptacle containing the rolls of the Law), were carried out about thirty years ago with the help of contributions received from wealthy Jewish families at Damascus. This is attested by inscriptions with letters in relief, both over the synagogue and 'the Ark.' In general features the synagogue resembles others in the Orient. However, its floor, like those of very old synagogues, lies somewhat deeper (lower) than the surface of the ground outside. The reason given for this are the words of Psalm cxxx, 1, 'Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord.'

"To this 'holy place' there come in pilgrimage not only Jews from the most distant regions but also Moslem and Christian Arabs, who also believe in El-Khudr, the prophet Elijah, who never saw death, and whom they venerate as a well-tested and attested Saint.

"On entering the synagogue, one notices, just opposite the door, and a few metres distant, a marble stone on which Elisha is said to have been anointed to the prophetic office in the year 3013 according to Jewish chronology. This is stated in a perfectly new bi-lingual inscription in Hebrew and French, on two sides of the stone itself.

"In the wall opposite the entrance door there is, on the right, a small ante-room from which steps lead down to a dark narrow cave. In this a round stone, in fact the capital of a column, is said to be the seat on which Elijah was seated 'in the Desert of Damascus' in order to anoint Hazael king of Syria, Jehu king of Israel, and Elisha to be prophet (1 Kings xix, 15 *sq.*).

"To this cave there is attributed, as also to others where the Prophet Elijah is said to have resided, for instance that in the celebrated synagogue of Rabbi Johannan ben Zakkai at Jerusalem, and at Haifa, on Carmel and elsewhere, the power to heal sick people who spend the night, or else sleep there for a certain time. The people powder their eyes with lime that has been scratched off the walls, and, in honour of the prophets, pilgrims light tallow candles of the size of a man, which the synagogue servant has always in stock for sale.

"According to Jewish tradition there are four graves inside the synagogue. The first lies below the Ark of Covenant and is that of a person who accompanied Elijah on his flight from Ahab. His name is said to be known, but unfortunately I could not learn it. (*See* 1 Kings xix, 3.)"

(According to Jewish tradition Elijah's servant and companion as far as Beersheba, was the son of the widow of Zarephath, and known later on as the Prophet Jonah.)

"The second grave, which is said to be underneath the circular altar or reading platform in the centre of the synagogue, is of a person unknown. A labourer who, whilst working on the spot, happened to open this grave, instantly, so it is said, dropped down dead. The third grave, that of a miracle-working servant of the synagogue, is in the eastern wall of the building. According to a legend, a certain ruler of Damascus had everyone condemned to be hanged executed in front of the synagogue, in order that the house of prayer should be filled with the stench from the rotting corpses. All petitions and supplications addressed to the tyrant proving useless, the pious synagogue servant earnestly called on God for help, and in the same hour the oppressor died. The fourth

grave, which is on the right hand of the entrance, is the resting place of Rabbi Samuel ibn Khazira, a Moroccan sage who lived here 350 years ago, of whom many legends are told, and to whose tomb the Jews often make pilgrimage, especially on feast days and at the end of the month. Special prayers have been composed for use at this sacred spot. In summer, when the fellahin have gone to gather in the harvest, and the Jews of Damascus come to live at Jobar, the synagogue swarms with sick folk who encamp here in order to be healed through the intercessions of Ibn Khazira. Close to the tomb there is a well, over the water of which the mantles of the sick are hung all through the night. About ten years ago there was over the grave a room used as a 'Genizah' or receptacle for old worn-out books and other writings, but these were bought and carried away shortly before the War by Ephraim Deinard, an American savant. The threshing floor, close to the synagogue, is said to have been an ancient Jewish burial ground, about which many legends are told. The gate of the synagogue was once on this side."

3. YABRUD.[1]—The Rev. J. E. Cheese, M.A., the present English Chaplain at Beyrout, who recently visited parts of the Anti-Libanus, north of Damascus, called upon me some weeks ago and informed me that at Yabrud he was shown an old stone, recently discovered, on which was sculptured a picture of the Infant Christ in the manger, together with the Virgin Mother, and an ox and ass. In Greek letters was the inscription "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib." It would be interesting if this picture could be photographed, or at least the inscription, which is taken from Is. i, 3, accurately copied, because, according to footnote 5 on page 14 of Farrer's *Life of Christ*, Vol. I, the Pseudo-Gospel on Matth. xiv imagines the ox and the ass kneeling in adoration, an incident imagined with reference to Is. i, 3, and Hab. iii, 2, mistranslated in the Septuagint, "Between two animals Thou shalt be made known" (ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ) and the Vet. Itala ("In medio duorum animalium innotesceris") "Cognovit bos et asinus quod puer erat Dominus." (Pistor, *De Nativ. Dom.*, 5.)[2]

[1] Yabrud is an ancient site and has been identified with the *Jabruda* of Ptolemy and the episcopal city *Jambruda*, whose bishop, Gennadius, was present at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325.

[2] Driver (Habakkuk, *l.c.*) refers to A. West, *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec., 1903, pp. 873 *sqq.*, for an interesting article on the subject.

4. A Modern "Pagan" Litany.—Whilst at Damascus I was informed by an intelligent native, who was collecting materials for a book on local peasant superstitions, that in years when the rains did not come in their season, and the harvest was endangered, it was customary in Hauran for the women to perambulate the fields in torchlight processions, with their hair hanging loose and their bosoms bared, whilst they beat their breasts and sang a chant imploring the nature-goddess "Umm ul-Ghayth" or "Mother of Showers" to send them rain.

Here in Southern Palestine a similar custom, though apparently differing in details, prevails. The following have been elicited in conversations with three different people, the first a semi-Bedouin belonging to the Sawakhereh el-Wad in the Kedron Valley, the next a fellah-woman from Liftau in our service, and the third one from the district between Bethlehem and Hebron.

According to these the oldest woman in a village is placed on donkey-back with a hand-mill, which she has to keep turning, in front of her. She is thus led through the fields accompanied by a troop of the village children carrying a cock which they torment in order to make it cry aloud, whilst they chant the response, or refrain, to the following litany :—

Old woman (making the millstone rumble) :

"Ya Umm el-Ghayth, ghetheena,"	"O Mother of Showers, rain on us,"
Wa iskee aradeena,	And water our lands,
Wa bullee bsatt ra'eena,	And wet our shepherd's (or pastor's) prayer-rug.
Ra'eena Hassan ul-Agra'a	Our shepherd (or pastor) is Hassan Bald-head
Ma bish ba'a walla bign'a	Insatiable and discontented
Ma bizra'a walla big'la'a	He neither sows nor plucks (*i.e.*, weeds)
Ya Umm el-Ghayth, ya Dayim	Mother of Showers, Eternal One,
Billee zara'ana innayim.	Water our sleeping crops.

The children now break in with the following petition :—

"Ya Rabbana, Ya Rabbana.	"O! our Lord, O! our Lord.
Naḥn es-sughar ihda banna.	Guide us little ones.
Tullubna ḥubz nim ummuna	We asked bread of our mother,
Darbatna 'alu tummuna	She smote us on the mouth.

The old woman again repeats "Ya Umm el-Ghayth," etc.

A voice representing the Mother of Showers is heard asking :—

"Shoo biddek ya k'ak el-layl ?"	"What do you want, O cake of night?"

(The term "cake of night" is in reference to the shape of the hand-mill.)

Old woman replies :—

"Ḥayn bo, ya ḥayn bo.	"The pity of it, the pity of it.
Ya lal-mattar, ya lal-mattar,	O for rain, O for rain
Ma kamḥ, sawat wa la inbaḍar,	No corn has grown, nor been scattered
Bidee mattar, bidee sayl,	I want rain, I want torrents (spates).
Bidee ḥubz lil-yatuma.	I want bread for the orphans.
La bayt esh-Shaykh dayafeh	For Hospitality in the Shaykh's house.
In-nir wa is-sikeh in hajar	The ploughs and yokes are useless.
Shamah la tugdeena	Do not send us northwards,
La Musr la tuwadeena.	To Egypt do not send us.
Ya Seif ud-Din bit natrajak	We beseech thee O Saf ed-din (the village saint).
Nashk el-matar yo'bor feek.	That the rainfall come through thee.

The voice of Umm el-Ghayth replies :—

"Kubbu moy bab doorkom	"Pour out water at your house-doors
Ta yuzra' feddankum.	That your feddans (acres) be sown.
Kubbu moi bab sirkom	Pour water at the entrance to your cattle-yards,
Ta yaḥruth bakkarkom"	That your cattle may plough."

I have been gravely assured that persevering repetition of the foregoing doggerel Arabic rhymes infallibly brings rain. When that blessing has been bestowed a thanksgiving song to Umm ul-Ghayth is chanted as follows :—

"Raḥat Umm ul-Ghayth jabat er-ru'd	"Umm ul-Ghayth went and fetched the thunders.
Sarat ez-zara'a tul el-qu'ud	The crops grew as high as the seat on the camel's back.
Raḥat Umm ul-Ghayth jabat ul-matar	Umm ul-Ghayth went and fetched the rain
Sarat ez-zara'a 'a tul esh-shajar.	The crops grew as tall as the tree-tops,
Umm ul-Ghayth ed-Dayim	Umm ul-Ghayth, the Eternal One
Usqut zar'ana in nayim."	Watered our sleeping crops."

In this litany it is easy to distinguish, I believe, (1) a nature-goddess, Umm ul-Ghayth, (2) a bald-headed, grumbling, avaricious and useless heathen priest, Hassan Bald-head; and (3) the libations demanded as a condition of the descent of rain. The whole is suggestive as a survival to modern times of one of those ancient

pagan litanies, for which, about A.D. 467, Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, and later on St. Ambrose and Gregory the Great substituted Christian ones to be used as processionals.[1]

The following is the torchlight processional prayer chanted by women in the Hauran :—

يا ام الغيث غيثينا	Ya Umm ul-Ghayth, gheetheena.	O Mother of Showers rain on us.
و اسقي اليوم اراضينا	Waskee il yom-arad̤eena.	Give drink to our fields to-day.
يا الله مطر يا الله خير	Ya Allah matar, ya Allah Khayr.	O Allah! (give) rain, O Allah (give) plenty.
تسقي الطريس و الخيل	Taskee il-ṭareess wal-Khayl.	Give drink to the tethered cattle and horses.
يا الله مطر يا دايم	Ya Allah matar, ya Dayim.	O Allah! (give) rain, O Eternal One.
تسقي زرعنا النايم	Taskee zar'ana il-nayim.	Give drink to our sleeping crops.

The difference between this prayer and that chanted by the peasant-women of Southern Palestine is striking.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE PHILISTINES?

A BIOLOGIST'S POINT OF VIEW.

By Redcliffe N. Salaman, M.A., M.D.

It is with no small amount of hesitation that one attempts to deal with a problem, the subject matter of which has hitherto been the legitimate *terrain* of the historian and archaeologist. The origin of the Philistines, or rather their cultural and social relationship to other nations and peoples, has been the work of the Egyptologist and the students of the dawn of European History. Their history as a people is only known to us from the Bible, where they played the unenviable part of a feared and dangerous foe and rival to the

[1] *See* Blunt's *Key to the Book of Common Prayer*; Bishop Barry's *Teachers' Prayer Book.*

Israelites. Of Philistine records themselves we have next to nothing. Archaeological research has been confined to the exhaustive exploration of a Palestine city, Gezer, excavated for the Palestine Fund by Dr. R. A. Stewart-Macalister, besides tentative diggings which were undertaken at Beth-Shemesh which the war brought to a speedy end. To-day the Palestine Government is encouraging, to its utmost, archaeological research and it is to be sincerely hoped that from the diggings at Ascalon and Beisan some valuable information may be obtained. The Gezer finds were such as to show an identity of relationship between their culture and that of the latest Minoan period. As regards anthropological material only five undoubted Philistine graves are known.

The ultimate fate of this interesting people would seem, however, to be wrapped in greater obscurity, than either their origin or their history. When the Philistines ceased from troubling, the Israelites were weary and at rest, and the doings of their erst-while enemy ceased to interest the national historian. It was a people whose existence was bound up in strife and yet who have disappeared from the page of history without leaving a trace.

In a field where research has so far offered but little, it is doubtless an act of temerity for one to plunge, who is neither historian, archaeologist or Egyptologist. But it is as a student of Genetics, that youngest offshoot of biology, that the writer ventures to attack the problem, and to show not only who the Philistine was, but where he disappeared and where he may still be found. In 1911 the writer published a paper on the heredity of facial characteristics of the Jew. Since then further observations have accumulated and all tend to prove the substantial accuracy of the conclusions there arrived at. The approach to the problem that was then made was as strictly objective as the circumstances allowed, but no consideration of the interpretation of the results obtained in relation to the facts of history was undertaken. In 1922 a further paper was published by the writer which filled this gap to some extent, and in that article the problem of the Philistines was definitely stated (see p. 43, n. 3).

In order to see the problem in its correct perspective it is best that the results of these two investigations should be briefly restated.

Amongst the Jewish population of to-day as met with, both in the East End (mostly Russian and Polish) and in the West End (largely German) communities of London Jewry, it was observed that three

main types of Jewish countenance could be distinguished. They may be designated by the names of—Hittite, Semitic, Pseudo-Gentile or Philistine.

(1) *The Hittite type.*—By this is meant that type of face which is almost invariably considered to be characteristically Jewish. The face is broad, the forehead high and sloping, the nose big, curved more or less hooked, and tending to be fleshy. The curved outline of the lateral contour of the nostril, or the "nostrility," as Joseph Jacobs termed it, is pronounced. The eyes are of fair size, the upper lids heavy and inclined to droop, the lower often showing marked folds, and as age advances becoming puffy. The mouth is generally small and the lips refined, but not uncommonly the lips may be of a heavier type. The essential feature is that the face is characterized by a general roundness. This, apparent enough in the nose, will be readily discovered to be equally true of the chin, of the angle of the jaw, of the fronto-temporal angle of the forehead and of the zygomatic arches. The whole face is rounded. There is an entire absence of clear, sharp cut outline to the features.

Associated with the Hittite type of face is to be found in the majority of cases a round head, and even extreme brachycephaly, in many cases associated with a high type of hypsibrachicephaly. Indeed, the high back of the head with the marked slope of the forehead in a male may be a very striking feature. Most generally, but by no means invariably, is the Hittite type of face associated with a stout thick trunk, short neck and short legs, the calves of which are, generally, strikingly well developed. The combination of all these characters in an individual gives rise to an appearance which is generally described as typically Jewish, and is at once the ready material of the caricaturist of to-day as it was of the ancient artists who produced the well-known Hittite figures, the sun god of Boghaz-Keui, *c.* 1300 B.C., and those of the god and king at Ibriz, *c.* 750 B.C.

(2) *The Semitic type.*—Here the face is characterized by its general length, by the heaviness of its features, especially that of the jaw and mouth. The nose is long, but in contrast to the Hittite is not hooked. Its breadth, too, at its termination is considerable, the nostrils generally big, but longer, antero-posteriorly than transversely. The mouth is always large and straight. The lips coarse and often everted. The chin large, heavy and downward rather than forward in its extension. The forehead is narrow, high and sloping. The brows are frequently much developed and tend to give the face a rather harsh and unsympathetic expression. The eyes are generally large, and the eyelids may be, as in the Hittite type, heavy, but are less often so. The chief character of this facial type is that of length of feature combined with heaviness. The Semitic type of face is generally combined with a dolicocephalic head and with high stature. Where opportunity has allowed, it has been

noted that where this type of person is tall, the height is not so much due to length of body as in the Hittite type, but is due, equally, to both body and leg development. As regards the latter, the calves tend to appear poorly developed whilst the peronei group of muscles is prominent. For good examples of the Semitic type, Seligman's paper on the Kababish tribe should be consulted.[1]

In the paper referred to, dealing with the historic aspect of the subject, it was demonstrated that the Semitic type just described is an exact representation both of the ancient Habiru and of the Amorite, as depicted by the artists of ancient Egypt, and the theory was developed, that in it was to be seen not only the basal type of the original early Israelite, but also of the Bedouin Arab as he was known to the Egyptian.

(3) *Pseudo-Gentile or Philistine type.*—Amongst Jews of the purest Jewish descent it is common to find that there occur individuals who are usually considered to be quite non-Jewish looking. By non-Jewish it is found that what is meant is that the facial appearance is totally unlike the Hittite type and very different from the Semitic. The features are small, the nose especially so, and may be even *retroussé*. The general cast of features is predominantly Western European in character. The question of colouration will be considered later, but individuals of this type may be quite fair, and this, together with the small delicate features, has led some authors, such as Fishberg and others, to the erroneous view that their presence in the Jewish community is due to an admixture of Teutonic and Slavonic blood. If, however, this type be more carefully considered, certain features may be discovered which tend to separate many of the individuals possessing them from their non-Jewish Teutonic fellows. In the first place, it is very common to find in the "Pseudo-Gentile" Jew that the nose and brow are in one line as in the classical Greek. The features, too, are not strictly squared as in the Teuton, where a sharp angular character is very often to be observed about the contour of the nose, the nostrils, the angle of jaw and chin, as well as that of the temple region of the forehead. A further character, which is of rather peculiar interest, is that, in the Pseudo-Gentile, the nose, whilst still retaining its shortness of length and absence of roundness, sometimes tends to spread laterally at its lower junction with the face. This character is one not seen amongst Teutonic people with the short refined type of nose. In the Pseudo-Gentile the squareness just fails. The angles are, as it were, just rubbed off. The head type is almost invariably dolicocephalic, rarely brachycephalic.

Associated with this type of face one may meet individuals either tall or short, though the majority tend to be short. The characteristic of this type is smallness and refinement associated with a strong tendency to a squareness of features which often just fails to be complete.

[1] C. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Soc.*, vol. xliii (1913), p. 593.

I have found this type of face amongst Jews from all parts of Eastern Europe as well as in English Jews of the purest German-Jewish descent. In one such family of five sons all showed the Greek type of straight nose and brow-line. In Cairo and Palestine the same type was found amongst the Sephardim as well as the Ashkenazim. In a Jewish school in Cairo there were seven children with this classical type of face, in most the nose and brow in one perfectly straight line. One of the seven, however, turned out to be a non-Jew—she was a Greek!

These three types of features, all to be found in communities of pure Ashkenazic Jews, may, with a little practice, be readily recognized by any close observer. It will be found that whilst the majority of persons, say 50 per cent., are frankly Hittite, 15 per cent. frankly Semitic, and 20 per cent. Pseudo-Gentile, that there are some 15 per cent. of the whole who cannot be readily placed in any of these groups, and this will be found to be due to the fact that in such persons the types are mixed. Thus, one meets with the roundedness of the Hittite superimposed on the long and heavy features of the Semite, giving rise to a very unsympathetic type, and the squareness of feature of the Pseudo-Gentile may be masked by the superimposition of some of the characters of the Semitic type, producing a face with regular and refined features, but in which the nose in particular is long, narrow and straight.

Again, whilst in general the Hittite type of face is linked to roundedness of head and the Semitic type to length of skull, the two may be interchanged; though it is very rarely that the Pseudo-Gentile type is met except in relation to a fairly long head shape.

In this rather cursory survey and classification, omission is made of the occurrence of the Mongolian and Negroid types of facial character, as these are in general directly traceable to specific race-mixture, and in Western Europe form but a very minute proportion of the whole.

It is very commonly asserted that the Jewish type varies directly with that of the surrounding non-Jewish population. The evidence of this view is to be found in the works of Fishberg.[1] A valuable and extensive collection of measurements made by himself has been mixed with others from all sources and the result is anything but satisfactory.

Thus Fishberg finds that the long axis measurement of the head corresponds very closely with that of the local non-Jew, whilst the broad axis does not correspond. Nevertheless, according to

[1] M. Fishberg. *The Jews: a study of Race and Environment*, 1911. "Materials for the Physical Anthropology of the Eastern Jews," *Memoirs of the Amer. Anthrop. and Ethnolog. Socs.* Vol. I, Pt. 1, 1905.

Fishberg's tables, the cephalic index of Jew and non-Jew corresponds with the greatest accuracy, a result difficult to understand. Stature of Jew varies with that of non-Jew, but colouration is almost inversely correlated. Fishberg would see intermixture everywhere. But in order to bring about the results he would deduce, intermarriage would perforce have been on such a scale that it becomes increasingly difficult to understand why there is neither historical evidence for such admixture, nor why the resultant community should have remained so loyal to their faith in face of the manifold disadvantages it conferred on them *vis-à-vis* their neighbours.

In the writer's opinion there is very little solid fact to substantiate the view that the Jewish type varies directly and in accordance with the non-Jewish physical type of the district, or that European Jews are infiltrated with non-Jewish local blood. In certain cases where the facts support the theory, such as in the Caucasus and in the Yemen, it is known that the Jewish stocks have been largely blended with local native blood. Whilst in the Mediterranean basin, where the Jewish communities are darker in colour than those in the rest of Europe, this is due to the fact that such communities are made up of Sephardic Jews, who as Marranos brought with them into exile no small amount of Moorish and Iberian admixture. In the rest of Europe up till fifty years ago admixture was very rare.

Perhaps the most classical proof of the contention that the Jewish community does not automatically adapt itself to its surroundings, is that of the Cuetas in the Balearic Isles. The Cuetas (a term of reproach) were Jews who fled in the days of the Inquisition, from Spain to Majorca and Minorca and there became admitted *en masse* to the Catholic Church. For three hundred years they have, though themselves the most devout of Catholics, lived without intermarrying with the native Christians, who appear to regard them as a lower caste. To-day, a reliable observer has informed the writer that a visit to their quarter brings one at once into the atmosphere of the Ghetto. All the Jewish types and those most pronounced are to be seen, whilst red hair, which is a rarity amongst the native Majorcans, is quite common amongst these people.

It is possible that in the more established communities in the West of Europe and America, a slight shifting of type is taking place, because the Anglicized or Americanized Jew, half ashamed of

his recognizable features, tends to seek him a mate of the Pseudo-Gentile type, and thus by sexual selection it is possible that a genuine change of type may take place. It was made clear to the writer when visiting the Cairene Jewish community, that the type of beauty there preferred was not, as in Western Europe, the Pseudo-Gentile, but the Hittite, *i.e.*, the Hittite type refined and delicate as it can be to-day and as it undoubtedly could be in the days of old, as is witnessed by the charming Hittite faces in the plaques in the British Museum derived from the Palace of Rameses III.[1]

So much for the three main types of Jewish physiognomy. Luschan[2] was the first to emphasize the importance of the Hittite or Armenoid factor. He assumed the Semitic one, though he did not define it in words, but he thought the blonde type with non-Jewish features was due to mixture with the Amorites in the early days of the race. In this view Luschan would seem to the present writer to be in error. The possession of blonde hair and the association with it of small squarish Teutonic-like features is by no means general or even the most common. The blonde colouring may very likely be derived from the Amorite, but the Pseudo-Gentile features are, as we shall see, the inheritance of the Philistine.

Before, however, the question of the Philistine is directly approached it is necessary to lay before the reader the results of the writer's research on the inheritance of the facial types already described.[3] The facts collected in the original paper have been augmented by a large number of observations which confirm the original view put forward.

These results can be summarized thus:

1. It is possible to analyze Jewish facial character on a Mendelian basis and obtain perfectly consistent results.
2. The essential character of the Hittite type is "roundedness," which, superimposed on either the Semitic or Pseudo-Gentile group of facial character, will cause the face to appear Armenoid in type and to take on what the world recognizes as a "Jewish cast."

[1] British Museum, Porcelain Tile from Tell el-Yehudiyeh. No. 12336.

[2] Felix von Luschan. "Die Anthropologische Stellung der Juden." *Correspondenz-blatten d. Deutschen. Anthrop. Gesell.* Vol. XXIII (1892), p. 94. See also "The Early Inhabitants of Asia." *Huxley Memorial Lecture. Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst. of Gt. Britain and Ireland.* Vol. XLI (1911), p. 221.

[3] "Heredity and the Jew," *Journ. Genetics.* Vol. 1 (1911); "Racial Origins of Jewish Types," *Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc. of England.* Vol. IX (1922); *Palestine Reclaimed* (1921).

3. Amongst the English and Teutonic peoples are a majority of persons characterized by short small features whose outstanding note is squareness.
4. When these two opposing characters "Roundedness and Squareness" are brought into allelomorphic apposition by the mating of Jew and Gentile or Gentile and Jew, the result is uniform, *viz.*, Squareness is dominant to Roundedness.
5. When the "Squareness" of the Gentile is in the same manner allied to the "length" and heaviness of the Semitic features the result appears to be equally the dominance of the short Teutonic. The numbers, however, of this type of mating are much fewer than of the former.
6. The mating of Hybrids (*i.e.*, the offspring of Jew and Gentile) by Jew or Gentile gives, as is to be expected, half rounded and half square typed individuals in the one case, whilst in the other all the offsprings are square or Gentile in type.

   At the time of publication of the paper referred to, no example of an F. 2 family *i.e.*, a family arising from the mating of F. 1 × F. 1, to use the Mendelian expression, for the offspring of the two first cross hybrids had come to hand. Since then, however, the writer has had the good fortune to find two individual hybrids (Jew-Gentile parentage) of unquestionably "square" type who had but one son, and he (brought up in a devoutly Christian atmosphere) is so intensely "Armenoid," rounded, or Jewish in type, as to be a source of great embarrassment to his parents.
7. The mating of the Armenoid, Hittite, or "rounded" Jew to the Pseudo-Gentile produces, as was stated in the original paper, a result entirely different to that between the same "rounded" Jew and the "Square" Teuton. For whilst, in the latter mating, the squareness of the Teuton is dominant, in the former the roundedness of the "Armenoid" Jew is dominant to the squareness of the Pseudo-Gentile.

This latter result was recorded in the original paper, but its importance would appear to have been overlooked by anthropologists.[1]

[1] It is of course clear that characters, however closely resembling each other, which behave in regard to a third character in an entirely different manner, must themselves be due to entirely different "genes." In Mendelian work, such a state of affairs is quite common: thus, the existence of two types of whites both in Plants and Animals is recognized on all hands. Indeed, the most specific results, such as immunity to the attacks of fungi, may be conferred by different and independent "genes" or factors, either of which may produce a degree of immunity indistinguishable from that produced by its fellow. Such an example has very recently been described by the writer in respect to the immunity of the Potato to Wart Disease.

The deduction may then be drawn with complete confidence, that whatever be the source of the Pseudo-Gentile character that is found in Jewish communities the world over, it is not derived from the same source as that from which the "squareness" of the Teutonic feature is derived.

In the first paper on this subject, this independence of the Pseudo-Gentile type of faces was emphasized, and its relation to a possible Amorite infusion suggested. Since then further study has convinced the writer that whether the blonde hair and colouring was of Amorite origin or no, the Amorite himself was not the source of the Pseudo-Gentile type amongst Jews. The reasons were indeed clear, for a study of the many Egyptian bas-relief portraits of the Amorites showed that they were most certainly Semitic, and of the same character as the people the Egyptians spoke of, as early as 1400 B.C., as "Habiru," a people almost certainly to be equated with the Hebrews. Indeed, on cultural grounds, Clay had shown them to be a section of Northern Semites.[1] To whom then was to be attributed the source of the Pseudo-Gentile ? In the paper already cited reasons were shown for the belief that he was no other than the Philistine.

It will be necessary at this point to review the facts so far as we know them, as to who the Philistines were, whence they came, of what race they were, and what was their physical appearance.

To all these questions it is possible to give a reasonably complete and satisfactory answer.

To the further and perhaps the more important question : What became of the Philistines ? the answer is neither complete nor altogether satisfactory, but it is hoped to show that there is good reason to believe that their disappearance as a national and racial entity coincided with their complete absorption into the body of the Jewish Nation.

(To be concluded.)

[1] *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites* (1909).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. IV, for 1922–1923. Yale University Press, 1924.

More than half of this volume is occupied by a detailed and well-illustrated account of the excavation of *Tell el-fûl* (Gibeah of Saul).

The lofty hill of *Tell el-fûl*, to the right of the Jerusalem-Nablûs road some three miles north of Jerusalem, is a familiar sight to all travellers in Palestine. The original identification of this site by Gross (1843), Robinson (1844), Valintiner (1858) and Guérin (1874), as the site of Gibeah of Benjamin or of Saul was queried on archaeological grounds by Conder (1877), who considered the visible masonry and that which had been uncovered by Warren in 1868 to be "Crusading." This opinion seriously led astray the late Rev. W. F. Birch (*see Q.S.* 1911, p. 106). Since Conder's time opinion has been steadily hardening as to the earlier view and in a succession of papers in the *Quarterly Statement* (1911, pp. 97–100, 1914, pp. 132–137, 1915, pp. 35–37) the antiquity of the remains and especially of the abundant pottery on the site has been maintained. The present excavations, made in 1922, may be said to have settled the question. Dr. A. P. Albright, the Director, has now shown that a succession of four powerful fortifications occupied the summit from pre-Hebrew down to Maccabean times. The masonry of the first fortress, which belongs to the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., consists of irregular massive stones fitted together in polygonal fashion with the interstices filled with smaller stones. In places the walls were found still standing to a height of two metres and there were indications that the building consisted of two storeys and that it was destroyed by fire.

The second fort (11th century B.C.) is "by far the most elaborate and carefully constructed of all." "We have every reason to suppose that this fortress belonged to a clan or person of importance." The Director believes that it was the work of King Saul himself. The masonry is superior to the earlier work. The stones have been hammered into a rough oblong shape and are laid

in regular courses. The quality of the associated pottery also shows an advance and belongs to the beginning of Macalister's "Fourth Semitic" period. Eventually the fortress fell into disuse and probably the site was unoccupied during the 10th to the 8th centuries B.C. Then in the 7th century B.C. a quadrilateral tower with an enveloping glacis was constructed on the ancient foundations. This "migdol" was similar, in the opinion of Dr. Albright, to the Kasr el-Ruheibeh, described by Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence in the Negeb (*P.E.F. Annual, III*, p. 41, Fig. 3). This third fortification was in its turn destroyed by fire, after which the summit was for two or three centuries occupied by the Village. And lastly, in the Maccabean period, a watch tower again occupied the hill top.

The whole report is exhaustive and the illustrations make it easy to follow. It is a most useful piece of work along lines where there is much room for small excavations. Every supposed site should be investigated in this way archaeologically as well as topographically and geographically. In this way only shall we have accurate views on ancient sites.

The Appendix, some 60 pages, consists of eight short monographs on topography. The most important is the Site of Mizpah at Nebi Samwîl and the possibility of Beeroth being at the well-known and hitherto unidentified *Tell en-Naṣbeh*, has been already referred to in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1924, p. 92. The general get up of the Annual is excellent but it badly needs an index.

E. W. G. M.

Annual Report of the Department of Health for 1923. Government of Palestine.

THE Health report for Palestine for 1923 states that "malaria, enteritic disease, typhus and smallpox have been kept well under control and are no longer to be regarded as the scourges they were in former years." The incidence of malaria throughout Palestine was lower in 1923 than in any previous year since the Occupation. "In some districts, as for example in the Valley of Jezreel, the whole way from Marchavia to Beisan, where in previous years there have been severe epidemics of malignant malaria among the newly-settled colonists, the extensive works undertaken have had the effect of reducing the amount of primary malaria in 1923 to a few sporadic cases. Results such as these are of significance since they

show that much well-watered and fertile land, at present lying waste on account of malaria, can with one or two years' well-planned work, be rendered healthy and suitable for settlement."

Unfortunately the general death rate was markedly raised on account of a great epidemic of measles which began in the last two months of 1922 and lasted throughout 1923. Nearly 7,000 cases were notified and 1232—mostly quite young children—deaths occurred. Notifications were incomplete but there is "no doubt that the disease must be regarded as more serious in its effect on the life of the community than in European countries."

Smallpox is kept in check by wholesale vaccination and re-vaccination. "Fortunately in Palestine this valuable prophylactic measure is not as yet hindered either by the profession of conscientious scruples or by the ill-advised propaganda of anti-vaccinationists."

Rabies among dogs and jackals has been on the increase and in addition to the destruction of 1,829 dogs "an organized campaign against jackals has been undertaken by the Department of Agriculture."

A great work is being done in the instruction of school teachers and of various officials of departments of the Health Service; also in the examination and certification of nurses, fourteen having passed their final examination this year.

The health of the British and Palestine Gendarmerie (numbering about 700 and 450 respectively) has been satisfactory, though "the barrack and camp accommodation of both sections is unsatisfactory."

The abnormally low—and late—rainfall last winter caused the severest drought since the Occupation. "In Jerusalem by December the rain-water cistern supply had given out and the municipal piped supply from Ain Arrub and Solomon's Pools fell to less than 50,000 gallons a day. Drinking water was being sold in the city for 2*d.* or more a gallon, and was being brought by motor lorry from Nablus and other places." The purity of the water also suffered much in consequence. No section of the report is more interesting than that dealing with quarantine and the sanitary control of the Mecca pilgrims. The anti-rabic and anti-malarial measures here described also make fascinating reading, and all those interested in such questions should study this complete report.

E. W. G. M.

Orte und Wege Jesu. By Dr. D. Gustaf Dalman. Pp. 407, with 52 illustrations and plans. Gütersloh, 1924.

This, the first volume of a forthcoming series of *Schriften des Deutscher Palastina-Instituts*, contains a series of important articles upon the Palestine sites in the Gospels. It necessarily covers much the same ground as Sunday's *Sacred Sites of the Gospel*, but is more exhaustive, and is written with a far more intimate first-hand knowledge of the country. Indeed, in this respect, Prof. Dalman has few, if any, rivals, while his profound knowledge of Biblical and Talmudic writings gives all he writes a claim to the serious consideration of all students. In XXI chapters the author follows the topography of the life of Our Lord from Bethlehem to Golgotha. On the whole he is on the side of the traditional sites, though he, one is glad to see, supports the claim of *Khurbet Kana* over that of *Kefer Kenna* as the true site of Cana in Galilee, and has an excellent little photograph of the former site. The photographs are mostly excellent, though it is impossible to make much of No. 37 (View of the Temple Wall from the Kidron Valley), but the most remarkable features are the views of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, and the Road to Jericho, taken from the air. Those who know the land will find these well worth minute study.

E. W. G. M.

Applied Entomology of Palestine, being a report to the Palestine Government, by P. R. Buxton, M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., late Medical Entomologist, Government of Palestine. (Reprinted from the Bulletin of Entomological Research, Vol. XIV, part 3, 1924.)

This valuable monograph of 50 closely-printed pages is well illustrated and has a map of Palestine. It is essential for all those who are interested in either the fauna or the diseases of Palestine, but is too technical to call for any but a passing notice here. Sufficient to say that it is a piece of work worthy of the high reputation of the writer.

The common malarial-carrying species of mosquitoes are *Anopheles Bifurcatus*, *A. Superpictus*, *A. Hyrcanus*, *A. elutus*, *A. Sergenti*, and *A. Algeriensis*. Of these, the first is the "domestic species," and breeds in wells and cisterns. It is the chief carrier

of malaria in Jerusalem, Haifa, etc. The other species are common in marshes, pools and streams all over the land, each species having its own peculiar habitat, and each its own season of emergence. These are fully described. Nablus "is unique because it is quite free from malaria, in spite of the abundance of water in it and in the gardens around it." It appears the Anopheles cannot breed in its waters.

In the marshy areas, and most of all in the Jordan valley, the efforts to keep malaria in check will clearly need unrelaxed efforts for an unlimited period.

E. W. G. M.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A correction.—Professor Sir William Ramsay writes to say that the Rev. Garrow Duncan misunderstood his remarks on the Greek inscription published in the *Q.S.*, Jan. 1924, p. 35 *sq.*, and commented upon by Prof. Alt, Oct., p. 191. He agrees with Prof. Alt, and indeed had recognised from the first that it was Christian; the era being that of the province Arabia (which, according to Marquardt, began on 22nd March, 106 A.D.), and the date being between 387 and 395 (reading 283, though the unit is uncertain). The name Αἰνείας seemed to point to a love for this name among Christians, probably from analogy to some Semitic name, a similar fact is characteristic in Anatolia; ι for ει is common. The photographs show that his suggested reading Θαξέου, based on very dim rubbings, is impossible. The use of παυσάμενος alone, in his opinion, pointed to a date *c.* 350–400 A.D., probably near 390, but this opinion is based on Anatolian epigraphy, not on Palestinian. He writes: "παυσάμενος, 'who ceased,' belongs to the period when Christian sepulchral terminology was in process of formation, *i.e.*, after Constantine. Previously Christians were generally guided by pagan usage, avoiding anything overtly pagan, and sometimes introducing something that would be understood by Christians, but would not strike pagans as being distinctly non-pagan. In Anatolia ἀνεπαύθη, ἀναπαύσεις (never the second aorist, so far as I remember), became regular Christian expressions, 'was laid to rest.' The want of the name of the maker of the tomb is rare in pagan Anatolia (where the most delicate attention which a husband could pay to his wife was to prepare her grave in good time), and this want points to the later date, *c.* 390. After 400 the name of the deceased alone is usual on epitaphs. But this is Anatolian usage; Palestinian usage may differ. It would be, so far as I can judge, impossible to suggest with any reason that a Christian hermit would retire to the south end of the Dead Sea, even in the first century. That became customary in Anatolia only in the fourth century. In the first century Christians lived and worked in the world, except for occasional short retirement into Arabia, like Christ and Paul, for meditation. Even in the fourth century St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen soon emerged from retirement and meditation to take part in the world's work."

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ	p
ה	h	פ ף	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Treasurer, Colonel Sir Charles Close, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, have both left for Egypt and Palestine. They will spend some days together in Jerusalem, when they will confer with the Rev. Garrow Duncan regarding the excavations at "Ophel." Sir Charles Close proposes to make a survey of the Ophel Hill so as to show the exact position of the various walls that have been found. He will also look into the financial position, so that he may report to the Executive Committee with regard to the Summer Campaign of excavation. Only a few hundred pounds remain over for this season's work.

Sir Charles Close and the Honorary Secretary are commissioned by the Executive Committee to arrange, if possible, with the Rev. Garrow Duncan, that the new excavations should have as their special objective the location of the western wall of Ophel, bordering upon the Tyropœon Valley. The line of the north wall and of the eastern wall in pre-Hebrew times has been now demonstrated, but no sure remains of the western wall are known, although there are some surface indications. It is a matter of considerable importance to clear up this point, and if this summer's excavation reveals a powerful Jebusite wall to the west of Ophel, it will be a satisfactory result. It is hoped the new season's work may be such as to encourage subscribers to come forward in greater numbers and with more liberal support for further work at this extraordinarily interesting and historic site.

Sir Charles Warren, whose important statement we publish in this number of the *Quarterly Statement*, realizing how great are our present opportunities, makes a conditional offer, which is printed below, of £100 for a further period of work on the Ophel Hill.

3, Trinity Mansions,
Weston-super-Mare.
14 *March*, 1925.

Dear Dr. Masterman,

In continuation of my appeal, dated 22 Feb., 1925, in your hands, I make the following offer to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I will make a donation of (£100) one hundred pounds towards excavations on the ancient site—Hill of Ophel (Jerusalem), south of the Haram esh-Sherif—provided that forty-nine other persons will subscribe £100 each, making in all £5,000. The money to be collected before 1 April, 1926.

If by 1 September, 1925, the sum of £2,500 is collected, I give £50 of the £100 I propose.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Charles Warren.

We sincerely hope that this challenge, made by one who himself did so much excavation on Ophel nearly sixty years ago, will be taken up without delay. For any adequate renewed excavation on Ophel *at least* £5,000 is necessary.

The Annual is now well in hand and should be in the hands of the Members of the Society at the end of this summer.

At the time of writing reports from Jerusalem refer to a great shortage of rain threatening a severe drought and a scanty harvest. It is to be hoped that the "latter rains" in April may be heavier than usual this year.

We have little to print this quarter of the Jerusalem work. During the winter the actual excavation work has been suspended, but there has been an enormous amount of pottery which our Acting Director has had to deal with. His reports on this are not yet complete, and much that has come in is probably more suitable for the Annual than to the *Quarterly Statement*. In the July number we shall doubtless have reports of new excavations, which, it is hoped, will be begun in May.

In the *Daily Telegraph* of Jan. 17, Prof. Macalister gave a survey of the later stages in the excavations at Jerusalem. He comments upon the fine city wall, 20 feet in thickness, and even yet rising to a height of 20 feet above its foundations. The destruction of the Akra or Citadel by Simon Maccabaeus is described as a disaster for archaeology, as the strata and debris were hopelessly confused: "Simon's proceedings may have been necessitated by immediate military exigencies, but for the archaeological history of Jerusalem they were the greatest of the many disasters that have overtaken that unfortunate city." The absence of inscriptions is still a most disappointing feature, and Prof. Macalister raises a very remarkable but far from improbable question: is it possible that the old Hebrew inscriptions were couched in terms that, from the later standpoint of a Maccabee, would be far from orthodox? We know from the Book of Kings and Josiah's reforms that the Temple religion from Solomon's time onwards was calculated to cause the resentment of strict Israelites. We know from the documents of the Jews of Elephantine that other gods were recognized besides the national one. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in the suggestion that the later destruction of compromising monuments may explain "the extraordinary absence of inscriptions," other factors, of course—the climate, for example—not being excluded. The numerous "potsherd documents" come in for notice, and Prof. Macalister concludes that "the revelation of the great city walls would alone have amply justified the expedition to Jerusalem." "The work is still in progress. Even yet at any moment a stroke of a pick may reveal a record which will take its place among the greatest of the world's treasures."

Popular Science Siftings (Feb. 10) contains a brief account of the opening of the so-called Tomb of Absalom by Dr. Nahum Slousch, of

the Jewish Palestine Exploration Fund. "In unearthing the tomb they uncovered, wholly by accident, another royal sepulchre, which they believe to be that of king Jehoshaphat, one of the greatest rulers of Judah." In the latter there were "seven passages and halls branching back into the depths of the rock." It is said that they managed to carry away a mass of ancient MSS. found in the tomb of Absalom. There was also a large chest, apparently of the time of the First Crusaders. Unfortunately no other account of these discoveries has as yet come under our notice, and it would be premature to do more than merely chronicle, with reserve, the news as it appears in the journal in question.

The Fifth Annual Report of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, now published, is able to record a satisfactory year. Subscriptions, still far from representative, have enabled all the working expenses and excavation charges to be met. The Annual General Meeting of Subscribers was held on Tuesday, March 3, Prof. Burney in the Chair. Dr. Garstang gave a survey of the work of excavation, specifying, place by place, the most characteristic feature of the new discoveries. His lecture was illustrated by numerous lantern slides, and was highly appreciated by a large audience. He pointed out that a new field in Transjordania is probably about to open, offering still further scope for excavation, *given sufficient funds and time, and a properly equipped staff.* Never had he seen such a splendid area of ruins given over to waste as at Jerash, and he drew a vivid picture of the wonderful architectural remains which were crying out for expert investigation.

We much regret to have to record the death of Mr. Francis G. Newton, who was Architectural Assistant to Dr. Mackenzie at Ain Shems during 1910–1912. Besides the work which he did there, he made a notable journey to Petra, the results of which were recorded in the *Quarterly Statement.*

After leaving the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Mr. Newton assisted Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos in Crete and for two seasons was Architect on the staff of the joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Philadelphia at Ur in Irak.

After previous service as assistant for the Egyptian Exploration Society at Tell el-Amarna, he was in 1924 appointed Director of this work, but sad to say he died at Assiut on December 29th, 1924.

His loss is a serious one. The number of trained Archaeologists with experience in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia was already very small, and Mr. Newton was just coming into his own in this direction. Those who met him at the exhibition of Antiquities from Tell el-Amarna in the Society of Antiquaries will realize what an enthusiasm he had developed since the first beginnings of experience in excavations under the Palestine Exploration Fund fifteen years ago.

Subscribers will recollect that the map of the Negeb or Wilderness of Zin, which should have accompanied the 1914–15 Annual, had then to be withheld from publication owing to the War. The Committee are glad to announce that the map has now been prepared for the Fund by the War Office, and a copy will be supplied gratis to those Members desirous of procuring it to complete their record of the 1914 Survey. Applications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

Photo-relief map of Palestine: This popular little map, which is reproduced by collotype process from the well-known raised maps, has been reprinted and is now on sale. It measures (with margin) 29 × 19 inches and contains some hundreds of Biblical names. The price to subscribers is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and to non-subscribers 3*s.*; postage 6*d.* extra.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 58 *sq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions :—

	£	s.	d.
W. G. Gardiner, Esq.	10	0	0
James Melrose, Esq.	10	0	0
James Reid, Esq.	10	0	0
General Sir Charles Warren	10	0	0
Thomas Prentice, Esq.	5	5	0
Rev. Prof. W. B. Stevenson	5	5	0
W. Herbert Phillips, Esq.	5	0	0
J. S. K. Moss, Esq.	4	4	0
Miss E. M. Courthope	1	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following :—

Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XXV. The School's excavations at Mycenae, 1921–23, by A. J. B. Wace and others.

Annals of Art and Archaeology (Liverpool University).

Expository Times, Jan., 1925 : Recent Egyptian discoveries, by Prof. Sir Flinders Petrie.

Near East. Special letters from Palestine, etc. Feb. 5 : Financial and economic problems in Palestine ; March 19 : Review of Mrs. Stewart Erskine, The Vanished Cities of Arabia.

New Judaea.

The Zionist Review.

Sumerian Reading Book. By C. J. Gadd (Oxford, 1924).

Early Hebrew History and other Studies. By Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B. (Scott, London, 1924).

Journal of the American Oriental Society.

Jewish Quarterly Review.

American Journal of Philology, Oct.–Dec., 1924.

Art and Archaeology, Jan.: The late Howard Crosby Butler, by E. Baldwin Smith; Pilgrimage to Petra, by J. A. Kelso; Excavations of the sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage, by Byron Khun de Prorok.

Homiletic Review, Jan.: Jerusalem, by G. W. G.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 1924. Part II, the Egyptian Expedition of 1923-24.

Revue Biblique, Jan., 1925: Excavations of Ur in Chaldea, by G. M. FitzGerald: excursion in Transjordania and to Kh. es-Samrā, by R. P. R. Savignac.

Journal Asiatique, July–Sept., 1924.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, March: A 13th century Phoenician inscription, by H. Bauer.

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1912, heft 3–4. Millo and the City of David, by Rev. F. Garrow Duncan; the excavations in the City of David, other excavations, the Royal Graves in Byblos, etc., by the Editor (H. Gressmann).

Conscientia.

Biblica, Dec.: The fishing on Lake Genesareth and the N.T., by F. Dunkel; account of a trip to the south-east of the Dead Sea, by A. Mallon.

Bible Lands, Jan.: The P.E.F. excavations.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ.

Al-Mashrik, Feb.–March: Beirut, its history and monuments, by P. L. Cheikho.

From the Author: *Sumerian Religious Texts.* By Prof. Edward Chiera, Crozer Theolog. Seminary, Babyl. Publications I.

From the Institut de France: Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Par Quarta: Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabaeas continens. Tomus II, fasc. ii–iv, nos. 413-595.

From Prof. L. N. Vincent, O.P. : Clermont-Ganneau, et l'Archéologie Palestinienne.

La date des épigraphes d'Arak el-Émir.

Classification des Céramiques Antiques : Céramique de la Palestine.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I. *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

1925.

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

By General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., F.R.S., R.E.[1]

Sixty years bridge the gulf of time separating the date of the first efforts of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the present day, and what a wealth of information has been collected during that period, and is still coming in, under the able guidance of the present Committee and the splendid efforts of the workers at present employed.

I wish to be permitted to say a few words about our methods of work, in past and present, and as I am the only one left of the old guard, except the Rev. Canon Edward Hanauer—unless Sergt.-Major Birtles, my dear Fidus Achates of yore, is still on watch—I have some claim to be heard, even though on the war-path.

My object is to incite the writers and thinkers on the Holy Land at the present day to be less reticent in their criticisms as to ancient sites, and to use more keenness and latitude in expressing their views.

The first inception of the organization of the P.E.F. was in 1864–5, in Great Britain (backed up by America) and was due to the intense interest in Palestine, the land of the Bible, created by the recent publications and travels of numbers of people of all nations during the years 1820–64. The leading and most active characters that I came across at that time were Dean Stanley, George Grove, Walter Morrison, H. H. Holland, James Fergusson, Phené Spiers, the Count de Vogüé, Professor Palmer and Emmanuel Deutsch, Lewin, Hepworth Dixon, and William Simpson. Walter Besant came in later. And what struck me most of all was that these men were partisans holding extreme views, differing one from another, and yet each assisting to work with one will in pushing on the P.E.F.

James Fergusson and one of his most violent opponents might be seen walking into a public meeting on the most friendly terms,

[1] For Sir Charles Warren's conditional offer, *see* p. 54.

and yet on the platform and in print using violent and scathing language against each other. But it made no difference to their entire friendliness in private life.

The basis of the movement was the accurate Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem (and its water sources), at present in use, carried out by Captain C. W. Wilson, R.E., in 1864–5, the necessary funds for which were supplied by Miss Burdett Coutts. This survey was followed up by a rapid examination of all Palestine by Captain Wilson and Lieutenant Anderson, R.E., and the conclusion they came to was that the most interesting site in the Holy Land for exploration was the Holy City itself.

By this time, 1866–7, the P.E.F. had developed into a going concern, full of good intentions for getting money and spending it on good work. Her Majesty the Queen was Patron and the Archbishop of York the first President. But it takes time to develop the machinery for getting in large sums of money by small subscriptions, and at first the money-making process lagged behind the work in the field.

In the autumn of 1866 I had recently returned to England after nearly seven years in the Mediterranean, and I was offered the post of explorer to the P.E.F. I took it up early in 1867, and held it for three years, until forced to relinquish the work through malaria contracted in the souterrains of Jerusalem. In relinquishing the work I called attention to the fact that the most pressing work in Palestine at that time was an accurate Topographical Survey of the Holy Land, because treasures underground would keep safely a few years longer, but, above ground, the march of civilization was causing a disruption of all the Holy sites, and most valuable relics were being burnt up into lime.

Accordingly the Survey of Palestine was next taken up and carried out most successfully by Lieutenant C. R. Conder, subsequently assisted by Lieutenant H. H. Kitchener. Let me state in parenthesis that since 1871 there have been very few excavations in the very ancient sites of Jerusalem. We all had to await more favourable circumstances for such work, and the time has now struck—fifty-five years afterwards.

My work during three years in Palestine consisted chiefly of excavations in the Holy City and reconnaissances of the Plain of Philistia and the Jordan Valley. At first money failed to flow into our coffers, and for months we were at our wits' end as to how

to survive the crisis. The Committee sent me S.O.S. messages, "Get results and we will send you money," and I retorted, "Send me money and I will get you results." George Grove telegraphed, "For Heaven's sake find the Tomb of David or we shall be bankrupt," and I replied, "If I do find the Tomb of David I shall certainly seal it up again: such good things are not for the like of us." I firmly believe that up to the day of his departure George Grove had an uneasy notion that I had struck the Tomb of David and, on account of my views about the desecration of tombs, would not give it out to the public.

Now in those days (1865–70)—it seems to me like yesterday—there were most divergent views on the topography of Jerusalem. Let us first give place to the great works of the Americans: Thomson's *Land and the Book*, Barclay's *City of the Great King*, Robinson's great work on Palestine. Then in England we had Williams' *Holy City*, Jerusalem by Thrupp, Lewin, James Fergusson, de Vogüé (in France) and Tobler (in Germany).

Our Committee were in the early days strongly impressed with the views of James Fergusson; they could not help it, his personality and strength of invective were so great. I went out to Palestine a strong adherent of Fergusson. But the results of the excavations disillusioned me one by one, and in a short time I was bare of theories and only sought results. It was not until the last year of my work in Jerusalem that I began to build up theories; but most of the minor topographical questions remained unanswerable, and they remain so still.

What I wish to call attention to is that with the most divergent views, and the most pungent criticism, we worked together *con amore*, freely, and the truth gradually emerged.

I feel so strongly on the subject that I do not think that there can be any elucidation of the problems of the Holy Land without controversy and criticism.

Let me give an instance. The subject of the position of Zion or the Akra. The book of Nehemiah certainly places it south of the Temple site, while the Psalms and Josephus place it to the north. For various reasons I preferred the northern situation, and held it for 40 years, but about 1895 it came in upon me that if Akra or Zion were taken to mean only "the citadel" instead of being the proper name of a site in Jerusalem, there might have been two or three sites for Zion, and accordingly I reckoned the Zion of early

Davidic times to be south of the site of the Temple of Jerusalem, and the Zion of the Psalms, of Josephus and the Maccabees to be on the north of the Temple site. Colonel Conder was very wrath with my changes of view and wigged me severely for my lapse into heterodox views; but that did not destroy our friendship.

Sir Charles Wilson, Colonel Conder and I, whilst exercising the most cordial relations in private matters, for certainly 35 to 40 years held the most divergent views about the topography of Jerusalem, and so will all thinkers on the subject, until the solutions of various questions are arrived at.

What I wish to call attention to is the absence of controversy in recent years about the Holy Land (partly no doubt due to the effects of the Great War), and the necessity, if we are to get a move on, for introducing controversy and criticism again, if the public are to take a real interest in the Holy Land.

But there is not merely a lack of controversy at present, there is also a lack of speculation and of imagination. All our old fighters have gone under. For many years we had a *Controversialist-in-Chief*—the Rev. Canon Birch of Manchester; in season, out of season, he blossomed forth in some new theory, and we found our wits sharpened up to keep pace with his propositions. I should guess his speculations brought in at least £1,000 a year to the coffers of the P.E.F.

We do, however, now and again get the very kind of paper we require for the Journal of the P.E.F. As one of them, may I call attention to a recent paper by Redcliffe N. Salaman, M.D., "What has become of the Philistines?"

I would now make my proposals for the year of the Diamond Jubilee, 1925.

(1) That the reports of the writers in the field, when full of technical language, should, in addition to the original report, be also translated into our mother tongue for the benefit of the public. I understand something about the terms made use of in Palestine, but I quite fail to grasp the difference which appears to exist in the terms Hellenistic and Greek walls (pp. 13, 14), Maccabean and Greek black pottery (p. 15), Seleucid (p. 20), Maccabean, Hebrew and Bronze (p. 16).

(2) I propose that the Chronological terms given by the P.E.F., *Q.S.*, April, 1923, should either be adhered to or be revised, and that when a new term is used it should be explained.

(3) Writers to the *Q.S.* should be encouraged to enter more freely into controversy and speculation and endeavour to get the general public interested. Several experts who know their subjects should be asked to criticize, and those who are known to have vivid imaginations might be asked to give vent to them and to bring forward new theories. The mere knocking of them over, right or wrong, will help to bring out the truth.

(4) The objective of the P.E.F., always kept before the public in early days, should again be brought forward and adhered to, and the public invited to contribute short papers and notes.

(5) There should be various *corners* in each Q.S. for *Notes and Queries* and *speculations*, just as they have in *Nature* and other periodicals of a progressive character. I believe if this can be done there will be an increase of at least £1,500 to £2,000 during the year available for excavations at Jerusalem.

I sincerely trust that what I have said in this paper will not be agreed to by all, but that it will arouse the antagonism of many who may think my observations worth powder and shot. We want to be on the war-path to succeed. I consider that controversy is the breath of life to undertakings like the P.E.F.

As for myself, I am ready to fight on any of the theories I uphold, but how can one enjoy shooting if one's antagonists lie low or hold up their hands?

A LEADEN OSSUARY.

By The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

The Ossuary reproduced in the accompanying photographs is the property of Mr. Hughes, of Jerusalem, who has kindly allowed me to photograph and publish it.

It is made of lead, which is by no means of uniform composition, but is soft in parts and quite hard in others. This is perhaps to be attributed to the fact that the lead has not been refined, rather than to the mixture of some alloy.

The box of the Ossuary was cut out of a sheet of lead, the sides and ends being cut to the exact size of the pattern used, being afterwards doubled up into position and soldered together

at the corners with the same material. The soldering was done on the outside and is quite visible. It is rather roughly done. The ends are rounded on the top to accommodate the shape of the lid, which is similarly rounded. The lid is a more skilful piece of work. It is not only rounded, it is also concave in shape, sinking half an inch lower at the centre than at the ends. There is no trace of handles or hinges.

The Ossuary measures 13 inches long by 6 inches broad (outside measurements) and is 4½ inches deep. The lead averages about a quarter of an inch in thickness.

It was found by some workmen in making a road near Jericho. The exact spot is understood to be close to the cairn or heap of stones which, according to one popular tradition, is no less than that piled over Achan and his lawless spoil after he and his family were stoned to death (Josh. vii, 24).

This cairn is situated at the extreme east end of the valley, which has been identified as the Valley of Achor; and is passed close by travellers who journey to Jericho by the old road on the edge of the Wady Kelt. It was excavated, as I understand, some twenty years ago, but nothing was found in it.

The decoration is quite elaborate. The various details have not been punched out from the inside, but must either have been formed by pouring the molten lead into a mould, or by carving away the surrounding thickness, leaving the figures in relief. The irregularity of the design seems to point to the latter as the more probable.

One side (Fig. 1) has two rosettes, one above the other, at each end, with an Ionic fluted pillar close to them. Another similar pillar divides the intervening space into two equal parts; each part contains a double-handled cup with deep narrow base in the centre and a small rosette on each side of the base of each cup. Only one of these small rosettes remains perfect. Two are badly rubbed away, and one has completely disappeared, or was never there. Between the two upper rosettes from end to end of the side runs a carved cord about three sixteenths of an inch thick.

The other side (Fig. 2) has only one rosette at the centre of the left end, but has two at the right end. The three fluted Ionic pillars are similarly arranged; and the two cups are slightly more rubbed away. Between the centre pillar and each cup there is a rosette of the same size as those at the ends. If there were rosettes

[*To face p* 66.

A Leaden Ossuary from Jerusalem.

on each side of each cup, two have disappeared ; but it appears they never were there. There is the same cord design at the top.

One end (Fig. 3) has two of these pillarettes with two large rosettes between them.

The other end (Fig. 4) is quite different. It has the two pillarettes similarly placed, with one large rosette between them. The left pillarette has one large rosette above it. As there was not room for the rosette above the other, it has been placed a little to the right and down the side of the pillar.

This irregularity of the decorative design may be intentional, but it seems to point to the decoration having been carved out in relief, not cast in a mould.

The lid (Fig. 5) has a large rosette at each corner, and two diagonals of the cord design, crossing each other at the centre, join them together. At each end the triangle formed by the diagonals has a rosette at the apex, one at the centre of the base, and an Ionic fluted pillarette on each side of them.

The side-triangles are each bisected by a pillarette with a rosette on each side of it. The decoration shows the same want of regularity and symmetry.

There seems to have been a carved cord also running lengthwise along the edges of the lid.

The lid has a flange of three-quarters to seven-eighths of an inch depth, which overlapped the ends and sides of the box proper. On one side this flange is completely wasted away.

I saw no signs of an inscription. There is a lead urn shaped like a large vase or pottery jar in the Museum of the British School here, which is regarded as an ossuary. It has no decoration whatever.

The decoration of this ossuary here described assigns it to the Greek or Graeco-Roman period.

The pillarettes measure 3 inches in height, and about half an inch in breadth. The abacus is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad and about half an inch deep. The larger rosettes are $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the smaller $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. The cups measure $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the handles.

3rd March, 1925.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE PHILISTINES?

A BIOLOGIST'S POINT OF VIEW.

(*Concluded from Q.S.*, January, p. 45.)

By Redcliffe N. Salaman, M.A., M.D.

The name "Philistine" in itself conveys very little. In 1747 Fournant equated it with that of the Pelasgi or early inhabitants of the Cyclades, whilst Gesenius considered the word to be Ethiopic and to mean a wanderer. Macalister points out that it is of interest that in Egypt, Babylon and Israel the term Philistine was recognized as that of the particular people of whom we are speaking, which would at least strongly suggest that the word was one by which they designated themselves.[1]

In the Bible there are several references to the origin of the Philistines. In all but two places they are spoken of as coming from, or related to, Caphtor, whilst in one place it is stated that it is from the Isle of Caphtor. In the table of the nations (Gen. x, 13, 14) they are derived from Ham through Mizraim, as "Casluhim whence went forth the Philistine and Caphtorim." In other places the Philistines are spoken of as "Cherethites," which the Septuagint translates as "Cretans." In the two exceptional references (2 Sam. xx, 23 and 2 Kings xi, 19) the Cherethites are spoken of as "Carites"—a variant appellation of great interest and importance.

The name Caphtor had been interpreted as meaning Crete long before there was any support for such interpretation by the results of modern archaeological research. The results, however, of Aegean and Egyptian discoveries have not only given a strong support to this derivation of the word, but have shed a considerable light on the entire question. Full use has been made by the writer of the works of Macalister, Evans, Hall and Hogarth, to whose writings he is mainly indebted for such historical and critical information as is contained in this paper.

The Hebrew word, Caphtor, is in all probability an adaptation of the Egyptian word "Keftiu," which was used to designate those

[1] *The Philistines, their History and Civilization*, p. 2 (*Schweich Lect.* 1911, 1914).

people who brought to Egypt the famous Aegean wares of bronze and pottery. Known to the Egyptians from the earliest dynasties, their records are, however, most abundant from the time of Thutmose III (*circa* 1500 B.C.) onwards, and there can be practically no doubt whatever that by Keftiu is meant the land of the Cretans whose wares they so enormously prized and whose portraits they have so fortunately handed down to us.

The researches of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos in Crete have shown that somewhere about 1400 B.C. the thalassocracy of Crete was destroyed and, with the loss of external power on the sea, was combined an internal disaster which effectually laid low the elaborate civilization which long centuries of peace and prosperity had allowed to grow up in the island, associated with a degree of artistic culture which has in some respects scarcely been equalled since. This destruction of Cretan civilization and power was brought about, apparently, by the descent on Crete of related peoples from the mainland of Greece and the islands, who were driven out by the incoming Danubian tribes, amongst the earliest of whom were the Achaeans. It is possible that the islanders and inhabitants of the coastlands of South-West Asia Minor, formerly under the sway of Crete, may have joined in bringing about the Cretan *débâcle*.

In the reign of Ramses II (*c.* 1300 B.C.) Egypt was engaged in war with the Hittites in order to recover the lands lost by Ikhnaton, the father-in-law of Tutenkhamen. To the Hittites were attached, as allies, certain peoples whose names, occurring again in the records of the reign of Merneptah and Ramses III, have been readily identified with tribal groups inhabiting Crete, the Aegean Isles, and the neighbouring coastlands. It is interesting to note that on the side of Ramses were certain mercenaries, the Sherdan or Sardinians, one of the same group of sea-rovers as were fighting on the side of the enemy. Merneptah (1225–1200), in the famous stele in which he records that "Israel is desolated, his seed is not," described his campaigns against the revolting Lybyans with whom were, as allies, "the peoples of the sea"; and amongst these are to be found the same Sardinians and a people of the name "Ekwesh" which authorities equate with "Achaeans."

So far the Egyptian records are dealing with the people of the sea, but no reference is made to any that can be claimed as Philistines; but in the records of Ramses III we meet both with

written and graphic records of sea-tribes amongst whom one can undoubtedly recognize the Philistine. The records are to be found on the sculptured walls of Medinet Habu at Thebes in Upper Egypt. The inscription relates how the northerners were disturbed and proceeded to move eastward and southward, swamping in turn the land of the Hittites, Carchemish, Arvad, Cyprus and Syria. The advance was made later by sea and land, and in the reliefs are to be seen the enemy in their boats, vessels which are clearly identical with the Cretan style of ship. Similar representations of ships occur on the Phaestus Disk, which, though found in Crete, is considered by most authorities as of Carian or Lycian origin. In other portions of the sculptured walls are seen the same people conducting their womenfolk and children in two-wheeled carts drawn by four oxen. Ramses III, engaging them both on land and sea, defeated them, with the result that instead of entering Egypt, the sea-tribes turned back and settled on the Syrian coast. The tribes comprising the enemy forces are enumerated and their soldiery is depicted showing the dress and accoutrements peculiar to the different groups.

The list of tribes comprises, not only those met with in the previous records, but also the following three peoples: the Pulesati, the Zakkala and the Washasha. These Pulasati have been equated by all the leading authorities with the Philistines. The Zakkala, of whom more later, were a sub-division of the Philistines. The Washasha have not been definitely equated with any known tribe, but Macalister points out that Strabo (XIV, ii, 7) states that the ancient name of Rhodes was Ophiussa, a form presenting an obvious similarity to that of Washasha, which would at the same time bring these people into line with the other island and coastland tribes.

The victory recorded on the walls of Medinet Habu took place about the year 1190 B.C. In the Golenischeff papyrus dating about 1110 B.C. and written in the reign of Ramses XII, the journeys of Pharaoh's emissary called Wenamon are recorded, and he gives with great detail his dealings with the Zakkala whom he meets first at Dor, which is the modern Tantura, just south of the promontory of Carmel. In the further pursuit of his business, which was to bring cedar wood from the Lebanon, he proceeds to Byblos in the neighbourhood of Tyre, where he again meets the Zakkala ruled over by a certain Zakar-Baal, who incidentally informs him that his grandfather had also been Governor of Byblos.

FIG. 1—Top row. Philistines, from reliefs at Medinet Habu, XXth dynasty. *Photographs from Petrie's Casts, Nos.* 194, 195.
Lower row. Ditto. *From Petrie's Casts, Nos.* 213, 214.

FIG. 2—Philistines, from relief at Medinet Habu, XXth dynasty. *Photographs from Petrie's Cast, No.* 181.

[*To face p.* 70.

Fig. 3.—The Cupbearer, from a fresco in Knossos, Crete. Late Minoan II Period.

Reproduced from a photograph kindly lent by Sir Arthur Evans.

Fig. 4.—Female Cretan head from Knossos. Late Minoan II Period.

This last fact, together with other incidents mentioned, would correspond with a settlement of the Zakkala in this region just north of Palestine at a date of about 1180, which would be about ten years after the great battle which ultimately settled the fate of these particular roving tribes of Sea Vikings.

The physical appearance of the men of the Pulasati, Zakkala and Washasha are portrayed with an abundance of detail on the sculptured walls of Medinet Habu, and we are able to compare them both with the representations of the Keftiu from the XVIIIth dynasty tombs of Senemut and Rekhmare as well as with the numerous representations of the inhabitants of Crete which have been found at Knossos and elsewhere in the island.

It is impossible to compare this series of portraits, whose origin is so diverse in geographical location as well as in time, without being at once struck by their similarity. The outstanding character of all the people represented, no matter where found, is that in appearance they form a group which is unquestionably European in countenance. The faces are those of a race with delicate highly refined features, with a small nose often *retroussé*, small mouth and delicate well-developed chin. In almost all where the profile is presented it is obvious that the contour of the nose and forehead are in one continuous straight line, exactly as is found in the heroic sculpture of the Greeks. The shape of the head is uniformly long, it being a markedly dolicocephalic race with which we are dealing. To the Western European eye these portraits of a bygone race at once conjure up a vision of a kindred people of outstanding beauty.

As regards the dress and external character, certain points of importance must be mentioned. The XVIIIth dynasty portraits of Keftians are habited exactly as are those shown in the Cretan frescoes. The men are garbed in a highly ornamental kilt and wear sandals and puttees. The head is bare, but the hair is done in three plaits which hang down behind. As before mentioned, the men of Keftiu are carrying vases of Cretan design quite distinct from those of the native Egyptians, but absolutely similar to ware found in such abundance in Crete and in the Mycenaean deposits on the mainland. There is a further peculiarity about the Keftian portraits which is to be found in every single representation of Aegean and Cretan men. The waist is abnormally small and is surrounded by a tight, ornamented belt. On the Medinet Habu

representations of the Philistines and their *confrères* there are both important similarities and important differences. The Philistine warriors have the same delicate small features which the Keftian possesses, and wear the same kilt and belt, the same type of sandal and puttees, and display the same small waist which the Cretan youth cultivated. But in two important details they vary. Whereas in the Cretan and Keftian portraits the men have either no headdress or a mere circlet round the head, in those of Medinet Habu they are shown wearing a helmet or headgear which is composed of a circlet of upstanding feathers. The second point of distinction is that the Philistines carry a small circular shield, whilst the Cretan shield was of an enormous size and shaped like a figure of eight.

These two differential features of dress, the helmet and the shield, give the clue as to the more immediate origin of these proto-Philistines, as we may call them. Both the headdress and the shield are typical of Caria, which was a Cretan settlement in the south-west corner of Asia Minor. Strabo (*loc. cit.*, XIV, ii, 27) speaks thus of the Carians and their origin: "The most generally received account is that the Carians, then called Leleges, were governed by Minos (= Crete) and occupied the islands. When removed to the continent, they obtained possession of a large tract of the coast and the interior, by driving out the former occupiers who were for the greater part Leleges and Pelasgi." Strabo proceeds to quote Alcaeus' expression "Shaking a Carian crest." Herodotus (I, 172), agreeing with the account given of the origin of the Carians, says that they, the Carians, invented the fastening of crests on helmets, putting on of devices on shields (*cf.*, the representations of the small circular shields on the Phaestus disk), and of handles on shields. We may, therefore, with some confidence, see in the Medinet Habu reliefs portraits of Philistine men of the Cretan race, who had become incorporated within the Carian power subsequent to the overthrow of Cretan hegemony in 1400.

The Zakkala, allies of the Pulasati, of whose physical appearance we have no evidence, derive their name, in the opinion of Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, from the town of Zakro in the north of Crete, and the Washasha may be equated either with the people of Ophiussa, which is the ancient name of the island of Rhodes and lies immediately opposite to the Carian coast, or, according to Dr. Hall, as quoted by Baikie,[1] with Axos in Crete.[1] And thus it appears that all the

[1] J. Baikie, *The Sea Kings of Crete* (1910), p. 164.

Philistine tribes have come from within a small radius, and all are people of kindred culture and in all probability of the same race.

Dr. Hall[1] has recently expressed the opinion that the original home of the Philistine tribes was the Carian Coast, although it is not improbable that they had occupied the eastern end of Crete after the fall of Knossos and before their descent on the Syrian coast. The name Caphtor is probably used in a generic sense and connotes both Crete, the immediate islands, and the S.W. coast of Asia Minor, the inhabitants of which enjoyed with the Cretan a common culture. Hall further points out that the Zakaray and the Washasha have both been regarded as genuine Cretan tribes, though their allies were not.

Before leaving the question of the facial character of the Philistines, it must be pointed out that, whilst in the representation of Cretans and Keftians the type is uniformly that small delicate angular one already described, amongst the faces of the Philistines at Medinet Habu there are a few which do not strictly conform, which are exceptions, *i.e.*, one finds some heads adorned with the Carian crest in which the nose is rather bigger and shows some rounding, indeed there is one distinctly Armenoid, which is not surprising seeing that in the interior of Asia Minor was living the Armenoid people, the Hittites. In fact, in many heads, whilst the features are characteristically small, refined and delicate, they would be more correctly described as subangular rather than severely clear cut and angular. In some full face views it is clear that the nose, though short, was of considerable breadth.

Sufficient has been said of the origin of the tribes which settled in lower Syria under the name of Philistines, and which gave their name to their new home. It is, however, of interest to see what evidences are to be found in Palestine itself of the origin of these same Philistines. At Gezer, Macalister unearthed pottery and other objects of Aegean culture, whilst the burials were of Cretan style and gold mouth-plates were found on the faces, as was common in Crete of old. In Gezer there existed, even as late as the fourth century of this era, a temple dedicated to Zeus of Crete, Certain legends which have clung to the Jaffa coast-line throughout the ages are of undoubted Cretan origin—especially the one associating the tale of Perseus and Andromeda with Jaffa itself, a legend which, in more recent times, becomes converted into the

[1] Hall, *Cambridge Ancient Hist.*, vol. ii, chap. xii.

heroic struggle of St. George and the Dragon, which finds its *locale* on the same spot. Indeed, the bones of St. George, the Patron Saint of England, are shown to the curious to this day in the church of Lydda.

The name Achish, which is essentially Philistine, and which occurs in the Bible, is found in a papyrus of the XVIIIth dynasty amongst a list of Keftian (Cretan) names which must have been composed some 300 years before the Philistines settled in Palestine. However, not only is there evidence in Palestine of the Cretan origin of the Philistines, but there is some which points to their derivation from Caria. The references to the Philistines as Carians in Samuel and Kings have been noted, and to these may be added the name of the place at which the pursuing Israelites at the battle of Mizpah halted—Beth Car, the Carian house, probably a village within the recognized Philistine border. Even the Zakkala are not without some memorial in the land, for it is most probable that the name of their tribe is to be seen in the place named Ziklag.

Of what race were the Cretans and the islanders, Pelasgians and Leleges? All authorities agree that they were a long-headed people. Macalister (*op. cit.*, p. 13) says: "It may be said at once that it is perhaps a little premature to call them [the Philistines] Aryans. On the whole, the probability seems to be against the Philistine being an Aryan tongue, it certainly was not, if (as is not unlikely) it had affinities with the Etruscan." Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 86), speaking of the Pelasgoi, says that "... others [tribes] were certainly in no way related to that stock [Aryan] and were indeed very probably not of Indo-European blood, or at any rate, only very remotely connected with the Indo-European peoples. This seems to have been the case with the 'Pelasgian' tribes of Asia Minor, the Aegean Islands and Southern Italy." And of the Carian he says, "The Carian, though they certainly belonged to the non-Aryan stock of Asia Minor . . . "

Hogarth (*Ionia and the East*, 1909) seems to share the belief that the people who were responsible for Mycenaean and Cretan art were quite distinct from the Northern invaders who later developed Hellenic culture. Luschan,[1] from investigations both of ancient skulls and bones of middle Minoan period as well as from an anthropological survey of the present inhabitants of Crete, concludes

[1] "Beiträge zur Anthropologie von Kreta," *Zeitsch. f. Ethnol. Jahrg.* 45. Vol. XLV (1913), p. 307.

that the oldest inhabitants of Crete were small, dark, long-headed and broad-nosed. Duckworth[1] found that the old Cretan graves of Middle Minoan period contained the remains of a predominantly dolicocephalic people with an admixture of 8·6 per cent. of brachycephalics, and he found no broadening of the nasal aperture. The average height of the male was 5 feet 4 inches. Hawes[2] confirms Duckworth's results, and, in his very interesting survey of the present-day inhabitants, finds that although the modern population is largely brachycephalic, due to invasions whose influence can be traced as early as the fall of Knossos, there yet remains on the mountain heights a population which exactly reproduces the old Cretan dolicocephalic inhabitants.

To this evidence we can add that derived from the discovery by Macalister of five apparently Philistine burials in Gezer. The method of burial and the accompanying objects found in their tombs are all strongly reminiscent of Aegean art and culture. The bony remains are best described in Macalister's own words. "The interesting bones from the Philistine graves are comparable with the types of ancient Cretan bones described by Duckworth and Hawes (see above) and with the Cretan bones in the Cambridge Museum. They represent a people of fairly tall stature (the man in grave 2 was 5 feet 10 inches, that in grave 3 was 6 feet 3½ inches). They were probably about or under forty years of age. In all the femora were not pilastered and the tibia not platycnemic. The skulls were ellipsoidal, mesatacephalic, orthognathous, megaseme (with large orbits), mesorrhine (with moderately wide nose) and microdont."[3]

J. L. Myres (*Q.S.*, 1907, p. 240), commenting on these graves, says that the structure agrees in general with that of the shaft graves of Mycenae and Knossos, which belong to the Late Minoan period (1300–1000 B.C.), and more closely with the Carian tombs at Assarlik Termero, of the very end of the Mycenaean or Late Minoan age. No such type is known in Cyprus. The contents, however, of the tombs recall the art of Cyprus in the period following the Mycenaean age. Though it is obvious that these burials were not

[1] W. L. H. Duckworth. "Excavations at Palaikastro." *Brit. Sch. Annual*, 1903. Vol. IX, p. 344.

[2] C. H. Hawes. A Report on Cretan Anthropometry. Report of Brit. Assoc., 1910.

[3] *The Excavation of Gezer*, Vol. I, p. 64.

Semitic and were in all probability Philistine, it is of course not safe to conclude that the dead were typical members of the Philistine tribe.

H. Bossert (*Alt Kreta*, 1921), however, thinks that the Aegean race came from the Caucasus, but he gives no evidence for the suggestion.

The question of racial origin is so often confused with community of culture that it is not necessarily convincing that because the Cretan culture was in all probability not Aryan or Indo-European, the people who practised it were not of the same stock as those who exhibit such a culture, yet in this case the probabilities are all in favour of the theory that the Cretan and Aegean peoples of the 2nd Millennium B.C. were of quite distinct blood from the Germanic peoples of a later period.

The history of the Philistines in Palestine is too well known to need repetition. Briefly it records a life and death struggle for the mastery and possession of the land. Both the protagonists were newcomers, but each brought a culture illuminated from different angles by different spiritual forces. In material resource the Philistine was probably the better equipped. Not only had he always his ships and the rich coastal plane as his base, but he was in possession of an element as yet as good as unknown to the Israelite. Iron, which hitherto had been used but sparingly on the shores of the Mediterranean, and then only for tools, was developed by the Aegean peoples and their near relatives the Philistines as a weapon of offence. How inferiorly equipped the Israelites were in this respect is shown by the passage in 1 Sam. xiii, 19–23. It would certainly appear from this passage that whilst the Hebrews were only just beginning to make use of iron tools the Philistines were adepts in all matters of ironwork. Lang notes how, in the early epic of Aegean peoples, bronze was always used for weapons, and iron for tools, and nowhere else is such found in Central or Western Europe.[1] Macalister, however, at Gezer, disclosed an exactly similar state of affairs. The biblical passage might perhaps imply that Saul and Jonathan were the only persons in the Hebrew army who had sword or spear—that they were, in fact, the only ones who at that time had the modern iron form of weapon, the knowledge of which they had acquired from their enemy the Philistine.

[1] *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 58 (1908).

The long struggle ended for all practical purposes with the victories of David, but the national feeling of the Philistine was not completely extinguished for some centuries to come.

There is very little evidence on which to base any conclusions as to the mutual relation of Philistine to Israelite after the defeat of the former. That it was not necessarily hostile is shown by the fact that the Shunammite, the friend of Elisha (2 Kings viii, 2) spent seven years in the land of the Philistines to avoid the famine. Gradually the distinctiveness as well as the national pretensions of the Philistine seem to have broken down before the rising tide of Judaean culture.

Doubtless the Philistine, no longer an enemy to be feared or even respected, came to be looked down on as of no account, much as in the Elizabethan age a Welshman was considered by an Englishman. The passage in Isaiah ii, 6, "For they (the house of Jacob) are replenished from the East and with soothsayers like the Philistines, and they please themselves in the brood of aliens," points not only to the contempt in which the leaders held the Philistine, but to the fact that social contact was prevailing between the two peoples. Whilst the passage in Zechariah ix, 6, is obscure, yet it clearly shows that cultural differences, food tabus and the like, still divided Philistines and Israelites rather than geographical or military boundaries, and that the Prophet hopefully looks forward to the day when both shall be united.

In the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, about 450 B.C., we hear the last distinct echo of the Philistine, but it is one that is full of meaning. Nehemiah (xiii, 23 *seq.*) pours out his wrath on those who have contracted marriages with the women of Ashdod and whose children lisped in the Philistine speech still current, if only as a *patois*, and from that day onwards the Philistine as such is heard of no more, though traces of his culture and his religion dwelt on in places such as Gaza for many centuries to come.

What, then, became of the Philistine? Is his fate for ever wrapped in mystery? Must we suppose that a race once so vigorous has vanished without a trace? Surely the answer to the question is to be found with the Jew of to-day. If the answer is inscribed in his blood, yet it is to be read in a text for ever fresh. The Philistine was gradually absorbed into the Israelite nation—he was never lost. His persistence with us to-day is proved by the existence of the Pseudo-Gentile type in our midst. The same delicate features,

the same subangular character of the features, the same Grecian brow leading in one straight line to the straight short nose are there in the Pseudo-Gentile Jew of to-day, as they were in the Philistine of the days of Medinet Habu.

If, however, we are satisfied that the Philistines and the peoples of Crete and the neighbouring islands and coastlands of Asia Minor are of the same stock (and the arguments deduced from the very numerous representations of these people we are able to examine to-day would seem to be amply convincing) and if, at the same time, we accept the almost inevitable conclusion that the Philistines were absorbed into the Israelitish population, then we must accept the further conclusion that the Jews of to-day, as the Israelites of the post-exilic period have, as part of their hereditary capital, a quota which corresponds to whatever was peculiar to that race of men from which the Cretans sprang. Further, that that blood represents a stock which is not Teutonic is, in the writer's opinion, absolutely proved by the fact that the Pseudo-Gentile type of face which occurs so constantly amongst Jews the world over, and which is identical with that of the Philistines of old, exhibits a "genetic" behaviour on crossing with the Hittite type of Jew diametrically opposite to that exhibited by a similar cross of Hittite and Teuton.

Moreover the dominance of the Armenoid or Hittite type over the Pseudo-Gentile (Cretan or Aegean) can be exemplified in other races besides the Jews. Luschan has observed how the Armenoid type has spread from Anatolia to the mainland of Greece and the Isles, so that a population which was originally dolicocephalic is mainly brachycephalic, and a people who 2,000 years ago delighted to represent itself in its statuary and on its pottery as one of the very same type as the Cretan and Philistine is now predominantly Armenoid or Jewish in appearance.

Still, remarks Luschan, can the heroic type be found springing out of the leavened mass of the Greek population. So is it with the Jews, who, predominantly Armenoid themselves, witness to the recessive Pseudo-Gentile type asserting itself, as the laws of Mendel would lead us to expect—a fact which gives us to-day Jews who are physically indistinguishable from their Philistine enemy of old.

In Palestine, during the war, the writer, as medical officer of the Judaeans, had manifold opportunities of observing the younger generation which is springing up in the Jewish colonies. Certain facts became clear as his knowledge of the people became more

intimate. In the first place the younger generation of colonists are physically well developed and muscular. In sports they held their own against all teams of gymnasts in the British Egyptian Expeditionary Force. Their average height was certainly greater than that of the Judaean soldiers recruited from Russia and America. It was, however, the facial type of the younger generation that was most interesting. The outstanding fact was that the Palestinian youths presented a very considerably higher proportion of Pseudo-Gentile faces than did their foreign brethren of the other battalions. Indeed, it would appear that some force was at work which was bringing into existence again the old Philistine type in the land of the Philistines.

Many years ago the writer searched about for correlations between mental character and the three physical facial types which have been discussed. It was clear that so elusive a problem as the correlation of mental and physical characters could not be solved by any statistical method, but in the various efforts to attain some satisfactory basis to work from, the writer was much struck by the following observation. An examination of a large collection of portraits of Anglo-Jewish worthies showed that those leaders who had been in their time outstanding philanthropists—and Jewish philanthropists are above all distinguished by that very lovable but formless type of charity which is so well known as "Rahamanuth"—were almost all of an outspoken Hittite type of countenance.

It may, therefore, be forgiven the writer if, when looking at the young home-born Palestinian Jews as they were marshalled under their Zionist banner on the plain of Sharon, and noticing the prevalence of the Pseudo-Gentile type of face, he fancied that here, too, perhaps was evidence of another correlation, a correlation between the spirit of adventure and the Pseudo-Gentile type of face, which would become active as a selection agent in respect to those immigrants who come to Palestine to found a new Judaea.[1]

And so it may be that, in the old home of the Philistine, there is being recreated that ancient race from the bowels of its one time enemy and victor, a race which, be its faults or its virtues what they may, was certainly dominated by that spirit of adventure and hardihood which made the Aegean rover of old the Viking of his day.

[1] *Palestine Reclaimed* (1921).

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip J. Baldensperger.

(*Continued from Q.S.*, 1923, *p.* 184.)

Arab Life.[1]

The women do almost all the home work, often even striking and pitching tents. Together with the children and the dogs, they are responsible for the management of the camp. Dogs seldom are very far from the camp, as all foes well know; and when any noise is heard, the whole collection will run in the one direction, a fact well known by marauders, who will draw their attention to one side, whilst others of the band enter the camp quietly on the opposite side. Again, wild animals, according to Bedouin interpretation, reason very nearly as human beings, especially the hyaena, a bewitched being; when, therefore, the hyaena draws near a camp, he fears the attack of the ever vigilant Bedouin dog, and says, "I'll eat clay, and go to my cavern: though not very digestive, it is something in the stomach."

The women generally own a few hens, which are accustomed to this continual wandering life, and know the tent of their owner, where they have a small *khum* in which they are shut up on their arrival, and let loose very soon afterwards. Pigeons and other birds are unknown to them, as well as cats.

The tents are all made by the women: they spin every bit of hair or wool they can pick up. After breaking camp they are always to be seen following with big bundles of wool and hair wound round the arm, and spinning as they go along. When the spindle, *meghzal* (مغزل), has reached the ground the thread is rolled round and the woman lifts up her knee and gives the spindle a new twist. When she has a sufficient bundle she puts the bundles away

[1] [The reader is reminded that these sketches were written some years before 1914.—*Ed.*]

till she has enough to make ropes, sacks, saddle-bags, carpets, or tent-pieces. (For further details see "Bedawîn Women," *Q.S.*, April, 1901.)

The men are on the look-out, assembled in the reception tent, where they deliberate about peace and war. They live always under the impression that an invasion is on the way, and every suspicious shadow or movement on the horizon calls their attention. The passer-by, who does not even suspect the presence of a camp in the environs, is quietly observed many miles off. They are very keen observers, and can at any time distinguish friend or foe. In their assembly they are more or less eloquent in their speeches; for though they are illiterate they have no difficulty in addressing the whole assembly with a succession of wise counsels intermingled with opportune proverbs. Could the European peasants, such as I have met in different countries, be suddenly able to understand their language, or could the Bedouins or Fellahîn of Palestine be suddenly endowed with the gift of speaking languages, and address the Europeans about peace or war, marriage or divorce, discoursing judiciously on crimes and so forth, they would simply suppose them filled with a supernatural gift, "saying one to another, 'Behold, are not all these which speak Palestinians?'" (Acts ii, 7), as if they had inherited these gifts from time immemorial.

When the men are at home they have nothing to do, as all home work is done by the women. I have known Bedouins who amuse themselves in order to kill time either by games, or they lie down in a clean place and, having strewn a handful of wheat all around, pick the grains and eat them, an occupation that takes several hours. Why wonder then that in spare time, of which there is plenty, they are given to marauding? They consider it sport. The Israelites of old, when they were not seriously occupied, seem also to have indulged in this, as the prophet Jeremiah rebukes them, "thou hast sat down for them in the ways, as the Arabian in the wilderness" (Jer. iii, 2). On some long expeditions they start almost without any food, or with only a small cake of *kishk* (dried *labban* and flour), which sustains them many days. Hunting (*kanaẓ*) is a favourite sport with them: they have the Sacer falcon (صقر), which they carry on the fist, and which generally has a hood. The Sacer usually kills birds, often much larger than itself; but it is also known to fly at the neck of a gazelle, and torment the animal till the sportsman arrives on his fleet steed

and kills it. They also have fine grey-hounds (*salak*), which they break in principally for hares and gazelles. When they go out on rainy days or have to pass marshes they rub the legs of the animal with oil to prevent the mud adhering to the feet, and thus hindering the animal from moving swiftly. The Sacer falcons are bred by the Adwan in Moab, and every sporting Bedouin tries to bring up one, a very delicate and patient business. But in the mountainous regions, and where both Sacer and dogs cannot be had, they hunt simply with their guns, either expecting the ibex (*badan*) among the rocks of Engedi, or partridge shooting. The Satar and Mallaḥa Bedouins, who live along the sea and on the small streams of Philistia and Sharon, catch fish—either by building squares of reeds in the river, and taking them when they enter a nook, or by nets, or, when game is scarce, they even shoot at them, as I have seen in Rubīne.

The men as a rule are very slender and full of nerves, with scanty beards, and almost no hair on the cheeks. The breast, so hairy with the fellahîn, is almost devoid of hair. The females are generally fatter, but are smaller than the fellahîn women. The clothes of the men are the white *thōb* (ثوب), differing from that of the fellahîn by being longer, and with interminable sleeves, the point being often over a yard longer than the other side, where it does not pass the wrist. The ends of the sleeves (*redān*) often have tassels of silk, and they are tied up to make a little bundle of coffee or tobacco. The rest of the *thōb* is drawn up above the girdle. The Bedouin woman has a dark blue *thōb*, more ample than that of the man, and though a good deal of it is drawn up by the girdle, the ends of the skirts nevertheless cover her feet. As they never run, this cumbersome dress does not hinder progress; for prudently and slowly she moves about the camp, and in the low tent she crawls about in order to get at the kitchen utensils, or whatever it is she may be busy at.

The headdress of the Bedouin marks the line of division between agriculturists and nomads—except the turban-wearing nomads of the Judæan wilderness, the Ta'amry, originating from the ruined Beit-Ta'mar, and the Sawaḥry, from the equally ruined Beit-Saḥur. To distinguish the last-mentioned from the Beit-Saḥur near Bethlehem, the Sawaḥry are often called Wadiyeh, or the Beit-Saḥur of the valley. The black, white or red, and yellow *keffiyeh* (كفية), whence the French *coiffé*, is thrown folded with

three corners over the camel-hair sweat-cap (قبع), one point being behind, and the other two hanging right and left. To fix the keffiyeh a double camel-hair cord (*merēr* or *'ekāl*) is pressed on the head, to keep the keffiye[t] in place; one end is tucked up round the chin and cheeks, and is fixed into the merēr, so that one corner stands out a little, but both sides are never thus fixed. Pierre Loti, who passed the desert of Paran some years ago, thought these points were sticking up like the ears of a wild animal, so strange did they seem to him. Often the part tucked up is drawn across the nose and mouth, making the Bedawy almost unrecognisable. This *lithām* is very necessary, especially when passing through districts where it is unnecessary to be known, or in a hostile country. The nomad men and women have a black mantle (*shāle*[*t*]). The striped *'abah* (عبا) of the fellahîn is worn only by the Arabs near towns. The Bedouin calls his clothes *heddūm* (هدوم).

The women wear a dark shawl round about the head, turban fashion and falling over the shoulders. The lips and faces are tattooed, but are generally covered by a white or blue veil (برقع). They have enormous earrings of silver, which are attached near the ear and fall to the shoulders (قرط). All other ornaments, nose-rings, wrist-bracelets (*medad*) and arm-bracelets (*damelj*), finger-rings and coins, are rattling about her person, so that of a truth "she will have music wherever she goes." The women of the desert have their hair plaited with less arts than those of the towns, who have the fine and numerous *dafā'ir* (ضفاير) from the centre, covering the forehead, or the fellahîn, who have the *jadā'il*. Some Bedouin women have locks, *sawālef* (the same name is also given to the Jews' locks hanging on their temples), or *umdaraj*. Others have them on the forehead, unplaited, and well arranged on the back, and called *ghala'il*.

Perfumes of different kinds are used, such as the *'uttur shān* and the *zebād*, for the wives of wealthy sheikhs. But the almost universal perfume is the green fluid *khedeyre*[*t*], which is often very dangerous to children when the women are freshly perfumed after a visit to town, where they buy it in exchange for the milk or eggs which they carried to market. Henna is used sometimes to paint the hands, but not to the same extent as in towns, where it is used very much, or in villages adjoining the towns, or where

the Haj have brought it after the return from Mecca. Painting the hair is well known in towns and among the fellahîn women, when the hair turns white. The *ṣabegha*[*t*] *ṣamra*, which I only mention in passing, is used to paint the hair of old women reddish brown. I do not remember having seen it among the Bedouins.

The Bedouins in the Hauran have locks all around the head, but they are thrown back behind the ears. The Ta'amry have no hair, except a *shushe*[*t*] below the turban. The Philistian Bedouins have one long *khuṣla*[*t*]; the Buffalo Bedouins, like their buffaloes, have a large front lock (*ṣuṣṣa*[*t*], or *kusha*[*t*]), stronger and fuller than the small *ṭurra*[*t*] of Bedouin boys. The women cut their hair-plaits (*'akâ'iz*) and put them on the grave of some beloved sheikh or relative, as a sign of deep mourning and great loss.

Just as one hears Abu So-and-so among the fellahîn, so it is Um So-and-so among the Bedouins. It is used more often in poetry than in everyday life, it is true. We hear them sing of the "mother of black eyes," or mother of breasts (أم البدحود), or the mother of locks (أم الغلايل).

The women very often chew the *ilbân* (لبان) for many hours. This may be the Hebrew *lebōnah* frankincense (Exod. xxx, 34). They get this chewing-gum from towns, as it does not grow wild in west or south Palestine, but is generally imported from Arabia.

The tribes have a given district in which they move to and fro from the beginning to the end of the year. When the tribe (*'amūre*[*t*]) is too numerous to occupy a given space, they divide themselves into smaller parts called *firḳa*[*t*] or *ḳabīle*[*t*], or in the case of a few tents only, *'eżbe*[*t*]. A sheikh is always at the head of each division, and these sub-tribes are currently called 'Arab (عرب), with the name of the head of the family or kindred, *e.g.*, Arab Hamdan or Arab ez-Zeer. Moses' father-in-law Jethro belonged to Beni-ḳedem ("sons of the East") and the sub-tribe of Kenites accompanied the Israelites to Palestine. Although the Israelites lived a Bedouin life during their wanderings in the wilderness, they abandoned tent-life as soon as they had conquered several towns and villages under Joshua; but the Kenites dwelt in the wilderness of Judah (Judges i, 16), occupying the region now held by the Ta'amry (تعامرة), Żawāḥareh (صواحرة), and Ebeidîyeh (عبيديه). The Rechabites remained south, and the

Kenites under their sheikh Heber went north and pitched their tents round the Huleh. The Judaean tribes cultivated the land, and were forced into this district, first by themselves, then by the villages north, and finally by the wild-robber tribes in Edom, corresponding to the modern Ka'abmeh, Rashaideh and Jehalin (جهالين).

The agricultural Bedouin have caves round the valley of Kheireitun with doors to protect their *tibn*, others have silos, as they could not possibly carry their grain and so forth with them in their wanderings. Water is one of the greatest causes of strife, especially in the dry Judaean wilderness, where springs of water are few and far between. Between Engedi and Urtas—both springs are visited, the former in winter, the latter in summer—there are only small springs at Ain Hamdeh below Tekoa, and the few drops at Adullam, or the open well between Nabi-Musa and the Dead Sea. There are also cisterns which, just as in Isaac's days, are still the cause of strife.

The natural character of the Bedu tribes has always been to act as a kind of intermediary people, with no fixed politics. With Abraham the Hittites were friends, and Isaac had trouble with Abimelech. Later on, Abimelech, seeing Isaac prosperous, came to look for his friendship. When the Kenites were free to take villages and agricultural lands, they preferred to roam about in the barren south with their camels and tents, and when they increased, Heber went north and left the parent tribe (Judges iv, 11). Here he lived on good terms with Jabin King of Hazor, who was very glad to give them hospitality, and was thus always provided with news about the armies of Israel as they gathered on Tabor (Judges iv, 12). And when Sisera, too confiding in Bedouin alliance, hid in their camp, he was treacherously murdered by Jael. The belligerent parties do not appear to be astonished, regarding it as Bedouin-like. Centuries afterwards the Kenites or Rechabites are found in a camp about Samaria, where they no doubt had supported Ahab, but Jehu having slain Ahab's sons and the brothers of the King of Judah, asked Jehonadab their sheikh to join him in his work of destruction against Ahab's house and the religious practices imported from Tyre. The sly Jehonadab immediately adhered to Jehu (II Kings x, 15 and 23). Centuries passed again and the same tribe called Rechabites after Rechab the father of Jehonadab, retreating before the Chaldeans, came for safety to

Jerusalem, but refused to drink wine as did the Jews, basing their refusal upon the commands of their founder (Jer. xxxv, 6-7).

Apart from the spear, the Bedouin has very much the same ornaments and arms dangling about him as the Fellah. In the powder-belt across his breast we may see a relic of the quiver, and the hook on the girdle which is now used to carry the powder-horn was once for the bow. As regards arms, or rather fire-arms of all kinds, the Bedouin follows the progress of civilization. We know that they were armed with bow and arrow from Esau's days, and also used spears. They fought the Crusaders with bow and arrow, and it is not much more than a century and a half ago that they first received match-lock rifles under Sheikh Daher of Acca. From the *fatīl* they passed to the *zenūd* with flint pistols, carbines with huge mouths and the long rifles used more by pedestrians. The double-barrelled guns (*kubsūn*), being lighter, were soon exchanged for the heavier flint-stone rifles; but the short carbines (كرابانة or بندقية) were also their favourite weapons. The simpler pistols *tabanje*[*t*] or *fard*, indispensable to every horseman, are still carried in the girdle.

When the breach-loaders came into fashion, many Arabs found means of using them, but the cartridges were the difficulty. Revolvers, which they call *wirwer* (وروير), are well-known to the Sheikhs, who often received one as recompense for having safely conducted European travellers through their districts. The Egyptian revolution of 1882 marks a new era in Bedouin fire-arms, when the south of Palestine received military breach-loaders, with all the necessary tools for making cartridges, from the booty of Alexandria. Choice arms, decorated more or less with gold or silver designs on the wood and metal parts, are called *imjawhar* (عجوهر) and are the pride of every Sheikh. These arms, as well as swords, are often of incalculable value. The wonderful Damascene blade—inlaid with silver inscriptions, if not made of the famous *bārde*[*t*], supposed to be from a fallen meteor—is quoted at fabulous prices, and is said to be of such superior cutlery, that according to Bedouin tradition, when an enemy is cut through the body, the separation is so imperceptible and swift that the man will continue to fight for a few minutes, till the separated part falls to the ground before the man is aware of his having been touched!

The bow only survives in the phrase "to draw the bow." The different arrows (*nashāb* and *nabal*) are children's toys, and the shield

(*dara'*) is known by name from heroic songs. The Bedouin sings in short verses whatever strikes him, giving thus more weight to his admiration and full appreciation.

Our muskets are travelling,	*barūdna daraj daraj*	بارودنا درج درج
And the horses are the source of wealth	*wal-khail mafatiḥ il-faraj*	والخيل مفاتيح الفرج
Our muskets are the law of the warrior	*barūdna share' id-darīb*	بارودنا شرع الضريب
Who is wounded, will never rise again.	*walli yasēbō mā yatēb*	والى يسيبه ما يطيب

Horses and fire-arms—imported wealth—are superior even in his eyes to camels and lances. When a tribe is well armed and mounted war is the natural consequence. When an expedition (*ghazu*) is determined in the Sheikh's council, a horseman rides singing through the friendly camps and calls the warriors, either encouraging them to fight for their liberty, honour or goods, or assuring the women of their superiority. The standard (*beyrak*) of the tribe, generally in the tent of the Sheikh, is set up (*nazīb*), and if the attack is to be in due form, a declaration of war is sent by an arbiter who has a safe-conduct there and back. Assuring the women he sings :—

O girl, mother of the big ear-rings	*Ya bint ya um el-medala(t)*	يا بنت يا ام المدلاة
Who is clad with the finest clothes	*Ya um ith-thiab ir-rehāfi*	يا ام الثباب الرهافي
Put away the girdle and rest you	*hilli thiābik wanāmi*	حلى ثيابك ونامي
Without care for the enemy.	*min kōme la tekhāfi*	من قوم لا تخافي

In the following verses he shows his indifference as to what he may lose, and how terrible his attack will be on the enemy :—

O woe! greet woe!	*Ya waw sallem 'alla waw*	يا واو سلم على واو
In vain goods are looked for with us.	*māl mā 'endna, māl mā 'endna*	مال ما عندنا مال ما عندنا

Except a cackling hen,	*ghēr ed-dajajey il-etkāki*	غير الدجاجه التقاقي
And a cock to accompany her	*Wadēk ma'ha yekāki*	والديك معها يقاقي
O woe! greet woe!	*Ya waw sallem 'alla waw*	يا واو سلم على واو
O woe! greet woe!	*Ya waw sallem 'alla waw*	يا واو سلم على واو
Fine women we have none; but horses	*ensūnat mā'endna hezūnāt*	انسونات ما عندنا حصونات
Some two or three thousand	*bialfain walla thalāthe(t)*	بالفين ولى ثلاثة
To hinder the Arabs to assemble	*min khūf il-'Arab telamlem*	من خوف العرب تلملم
For a counsel of peace or war.	*fi shūr wulla khabāthe(t)*	في شور ولى خباثة
O woe! greet woe!	*Ya waw sallem 'alla waw*	يا واو سلم على واو
O foal, I'll teach you to turn round	*Ya muhur la-alwīk leyāt*	يا مهر لالويك ليات
When the horses engage in battle	*Yūm il-khail te'arak*	يوم الخيل تعرك
To-day, the lances are made ready	*Wal-yūm nakel il-mazārēk*	واليوم نقل المزاريق
And the manes will be flying.	*in mālat il-ma'aref.*	ان مالت المعارف

Defending his love and giving his life for her, he sings :—

There is no such beauty west of the tribe	*Ma zeinat gharbi-l-farēk*	ما زينة غربي الفريق
Look at those fine black eyes,	*Ya hallali sūd 'eyūnhā*	يا حلالي سود عيونها
Should I break my lance and kill my mare	*Lafad rumhi wal-faras*	لافض رمحي والفرس
I'm afraid I cannot then even have her.	*Ma dhinni hum ya'tūhā*	ما ذني هم يعطوها

The favourite and essential Bedouin weapon on horseback is still the lance, for the Bedawy does not go out to kill, but simply to rob whatever is useful to him. A man who is shot is, as the song goes, not easily healed, but a wound with a spear in the arm or leg can easily be cured, and unnecessary loss of life and the subsequent feuds are spared.

The *mizrak* is the shaft, it is also called *kanā*[*t*] or *shalfe*[*t*], the bottom iron pike is the *Zaj* or *Kuntar* and the blade *rumh*. But the weapon as a whole is called *mizrāk* or *rumh*, the latter being the same as the familiar Israelite *rōmah*. The *harbe*[*t*] is the short spear, more often seen with Dervishes, and like the Israelites *hanūth*, an infantry arm (1 Samuel, xiii, 22). The short spear *radarine*[*t*] seems specially used against the shield (*dara'*), but both occur only in songs—at least I have seen neither. A Bedouin horseman carries the hooked short stick *bākūr* in order to pick up the spear when it has fallen from the rider or from an enemy.

War between tribes is not a terrible episode, that is to say, in comparison with European battles, because before the parties meet they challenge each other, and a duel is fought between two renowned horsemen. When one is thrown down a second furiously rides up, then another one from every line, and so, irregularly, the fight is carried on, lances only being used. They go galloping to and fro till a few have been thrown from their horses, then the belligerent parties retreat, careful not to shed blood uselessly. Coats of mail are used by some sheikhs, those may be centuries old and handed down from father to son or taken from the foe in a successful duel [the Crusaders].

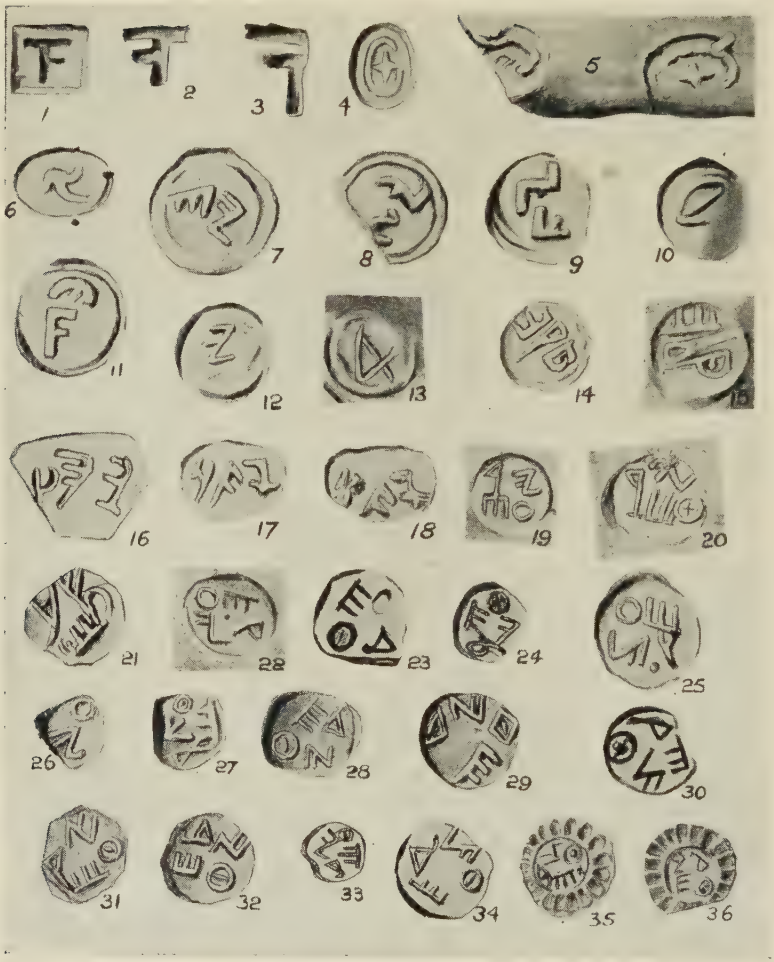
The two great antagonist tribes in the south are the Tayahah and Tarabēn. In the last fellahin feuds of Ethman el-Lahame of Bait-Natēf and Mustapha Abu Ghosh of Kariet el-'Enab the Tarabēn came to help Abu Ghosh in hope of booty. An eye-witness told me that in the siege of Dair Abban, of the Sahârme party, the Abu Ghosh warriors courageously advanced mostly on foot, and the Tarabēn on their fleet mares galloped in advance. But when they were received by a salvo from the besieger they galloped back, and many coolly rode away, leaving the fellahin to fight out their own battles, as they expected the booty which Sheikh Mustapha had promised them, but never thought of the fire-arms. The Bedouin women followed in the rear of the army to carry away the wounded or dead on their donkeys. But the

Tayahah could not gather their dead as the victorious men of Abu Ghosh (Ghawashy) advanced. When the war was ended and the enemy routed they did not allow the Bedouin to come and gather their dead, nor had the fellahîn the decency to bury the corpses of their enemies, but left them to be eaten by wild beasts. The small tribes north of Jaffa, round the Aujeh, and those south of Rubine often meet in small feuds—the northern tribes are fiercer than the southern ones.

A fierce contest in 1875, east of Gaza, originated as usual about pasture lands between the Tayaha and the 'Azazmeh. The Tarabēn took advantage and attacked the Tayaha, but without any success. Whether the dispute was afterwards settled I do not know. In 1879 and 1882 they were again at war but without any further success, only a few killed, some mares taken, and both parties had to retreat. In 1887 they met again as usual, many came on camel-back, and often with a *khafash*, as the second rider behind the hump is called. But this time the government captured a few sheikhs, among them the famous Saqer Abu Sitté.

In the *Ghazu*, or robbing expedition, of 1881 undertaken by the Billy tribe with about 150 horsemen from near Gaza against the Beni-Sakhr, then encamped in the plain of Jezreel, they passed in small divisions of 20 or 30 horsemen (*sarbe*[*t*]) between the towns of Jaffa, Ramleh, west of Nablus, and fell unawares on the confiding Sakhr, plundered several hundred camels, and coolly drove them home again without being in the least disturbed by the small garrisons. The Billy, rightly or wrongly, are held responsible for all the robberies committed in Philistia.

(*To be continued.*)



Inscribed jar-handles.

INSCRIBED JAR-HANDLES.

The jar-handles are re-numbered on the plate, where 4 and 5 = Mr. Duncan's 5 and 5*a*, 7–13 = his 8–14, 14 and 15 = his 21 and 22, 16–19 = his 24–27, 20–35 = his 29–44, and 36 = his 46.

Mr. Duncan sends a fuller report of some forty-nine jar-handles, about half of the total number as yet discovered. They raise interesting questions of Hebrew palaeography, a subject which has recently received new and unexpected stimulus through the discovery by the French of a Phoenician inscription at Byblus which is very confidently ascribed to the 13th century B.C. Although nothing very definite can as yet be determined regarding the jar-handles, it will be useful to furnish a brief provisional statement in the hope that some light upon them may be forthcoming. Readers should refer to the earlier statement on Hebrew objects, including the inscribed ossuary, which was published in the October *Q.S.*, pp. 180–186.

Mr. Duncan very wisely does not wish to commit himself to any definite dating based on the pottery. In consultation with others he now considers that few date earlier than 600 B.C., and all are later than the למלך ("To the King") type. This is interesting, because all those found at Elephantine, whether consisting of names (X, or X son of Y), or of the type "to the King," were on independent grounds, ascribed to the Persian period (5th century). It does not follow that the Palestinian *melek* type is necessarily of the same date, although some writers (like the present) are of that opinion, while others prefer an earlier date, partly on the ground of the monarchical reference. Whether the Yah(u) type (*Q.S.*, 1924, p. 181), necessarily points to offerings to the post-exilic Temple-treasury must likewise be reckoned a moot point, and Prof. Macalister very properly raises the question whether the Divine Name was freely written, and also so frequently crudely written on the coarse and common vessels to which the handles belonged.

The jar-handles vary greatly in material, and, with all caution, Mr. Duncan would distinguish between Jebusite (pre-Israelite), Canaanite (non-Israelite) and Israelite ware. He classifies them according to their lettering into four main classes.

(1) Those with one letter. The sign (No. 1) is reversed on No. 2, while on No. 3 it is reversed, and the top bar is not prolonged to the right. In each case it is incised. The pottery is red ware

with a yellow slip. It is only ¼-inch thick, and it is evident that the vessels were not very large, and were probably of similar capacity. Mr. Duncan thus describes the provenance.

'These three were all found in the debris of the slope in front of the Solomonic Tower, when we were cutting a deep drain to carry off rain-water from the Tower. We divided this debris into two sections, inner and outer. The inner section "A" represents the space from 8 feet out from the Tower face to 28 feet out, or thereby. From 28 feet to 46 feet represents the outer section "B." These three jar-handles were found about 26 feet out from the face of the Tower and at the level 41 feet down from the highest point of the Tower. They may therefore indicate the stratification of their own period, or may belong to the inverted clearance "B." In the outer section "B" the stratification is more or less mixed, due probably to the throwing out of debris from the foundation trench of the Tower when it was being built, or to the Maccabaean clearance which accounts for our finding some very early pottery in this outer section at the same depth as these handles were found.'

The character which Mr. Duncan regards as a *yod* might equally represent a *waw* or an *aleph*. In *Q.S.*, 1909, p. 295, it is pointed out that *aleph* has a very similar form, though with a prolongation upward of the vertical.

In Nos. 5 and 5*a*, of about the same period, an incomplete oval contains a small cross. The type resembles the eight examples from Elephantine in Upper Egypt (Sachau, tafel 73; Lidzbarski, Plate 6), where "to the king" is followed by a variously formed sign which looks like a roughly formed *teth*. Mr. Duncan writes:

Recently I found several small oval and circular stamped pottery weights of bright red ware. One of these, found in Field No. 9, section A, at a depth of 15 feet where we were finding Seleucid, Hebrew, and Canaanite pottery mixed, bears a circular stamp ⅝-inch in diameter. In the centre of this circular stamp a letter, like our letter "C," is left in high relief (*see* January *Q.S.*, Plate viii, Fig. 26). This seems to be the same letter as is stamped on the above jar-handle. On the weight the letter is very likely an indication of measure or weight, or a guarantee of authenticity. So it may be also on the jar-handle, either an indication of capacity or a recognised authoritative mark of genuineness.

Both Nos. 5 and 5*a*, one of reddish ware, ⅛-inch thick, with yellowish slip. They came from the wall-face, north of the north

bastion at 6 feet depth, but as the stratification is inverted here, there is no conclusive evidence as to date.

No. 6 is an unusual and unique stamp in our collection. It is a perfect oval ¾-inch long and ⅜-inch at the widest point. Only one letter appears to have been stamped on it. The interior of the stamp, however, is so badly rubbed that it is hard to make out. A plasticene cast gives the letter as drawn. The ware would be classed as post-exilic; it comes from the north bastion face.

In another example (No. 7) from the same locality the sign is inside a circle and belongs to an older type of vessel.

(2) Stamps with two letters, *yōd* and *hē* (Nos. 8–20). Most are of the same type, though the letters are very differently formed. 'The ware seems Canaanite, the paste being generally very full of grit and the baking characteristically Canaanite. The ware is ⅝-inch thick. The handle is 1¼ inches broad and only ½-inch thick at the thickest part. It is red ware covered with a fine yellow slip. The stamp was deeply impressed on the soft paste, as is seen from the edges of the outer circle having fallen in at points when the seal was removed. The letters are left standing clear, almost ⅛-inch in relief.'

No. 11 is, however, later, triple-fluted, with lighter slip. It was found like the others in Field 9. Mr. Duncan thinks it possible that one of the letters has been obliterated. No. 13 is similar. No. 14 bears a unique mark. No. 20 resembles it and bears a letter in relief, resembling the Greek *epsilon*. Nos. 15–19 resemble No. 8, but bear little, if any, traces of lettering.

(3) Stamps with three letters. (*a*) Nos. 21 and 22 bear letters which so far have not been read or recognised; one of them has been already described in the October *Q.S.*, p. 183, No. 10. The ware is reddish yellow, full of quartz grit, and distinctly reminiscent of the Third Bronze Age or Transition period. If so the writing would be very early. It will be noticed that the one stamp is the inversion of the other.

(*b*) Nos. 23–26 bear the letters *yōd*, *hē* and *wāw*. No two agree in shape, or size of stamp, or of letters. Only two show the imprint of the background of the seal; the others look as if the space containing the letters had been carved out, leaving the letters in relief. For No. 23, see *Q.S.*, October, p. 182, No. 2 (*cf.* Plate V *ib.*); the form of the *hē* is noteworthy. The pottery is yellowish red, with a good deal of ground quart grit; letters in high relief and not carefully

formed. No. 25 seems to be rather later. All, in fact, appear to be not earlier than the 5th century. Mr. Duncan records the suggestion of Mr. Abinoam Yellin that the letters represent a spelling of the name Jehu, which in the Old Testament is written with a final *aleph* (יהוא). Of course, it might be a local name. Still, the resemblance to the Jericho form *y-h-w*, and the spelling of the divine name on the Elephantine papyri (*y-h-w* and *y-h-h*) can hardly be ignored.

(4) Stamps with four letters. The type is now a familar one (*Q.S.*, 1924, October, p. 182; 1925, January, p. 20), but unfortunately the interpretation of the letters continues to be elusive. The letters *yōd* and *hē* are clear, the remaining two uncertain. No. 27 is brown ware, which, on ordinary grounds, Mr. Duncan would call post-exilic, although the lettering looks earlier. A certain thickening of the ligature convinces him that *bēth* and *hē* have been united, and that a *dāleth* (or *rēsh*) in the place of the *bēth* is out of the question. Elsewhere he favours the reading *bēth*. A glance at the copies will show how difficult it is to decide between it and *rēsh* (or *dāleth*), and also in certain cases between the pure circle (*'ayin*) and the circle with a diameter or other internal bar (*ṭēth*). For No. 28, cf. *Q.S.*, October, Plate V, No. 3. The ware of No. 29 "would at first sight be classified as Third Bronze Age"; there is no slip, and there are signs of incipient fluting on the handle. As in No. 30, the lettering seems badly done. Nos. 31 and 32 are of quite different ware and make, and would be classed as pre-exilic. No. 32 was found at the west face of the Hezekiah wall at 14 feet depth. The bar across the circle in the latter (contrast the former) points to a *ṭēth*. It should be remembered that the Elephantine jar-handles of the "to the king" type are followed by what is evidently a *ṭēth*, though palaeographically later than these (*Q.S.*, October, p. 186 n.). No. 33 is smaller than usual, and the ware suggests a pre-exilic date. No. 34 calls for no remark; and of No. 35 only traces of two letters remain, though the handle is heavier and of different shape. In almost all these the circular handles come away from the widest bulge of the jar well down the body of the vessel, and the jar to which they belonged may have had four such handles originally.

We now come to a different class of jar, with a handle "of the common Hebrew type." No. 36 is a handle of the type shown in *Gezer*, pl. xxi, 2, and was perhaps of a vessel of that shape with

pointed base, and of different capacity from the standard size indicated by those just described. For a better example, see *Gezer*, pl. cxlix, 2; and for illustrations of this type of handle, see Petrie, *Lachish*, pl. vi, 85; for other types of handles, see *ib.*, pl. vii, 124. Nos. 37 and 38 point to ware of the standard size (No. 8 above). In the latter the space between the *bēth* ? (or *dāleth* ?) and the *hē* may, perhaps, have some bearing on the order in which the letters are to be read. The rest call for no remark, though the handles of Nos. 41 and 44 resemble the shape and make of Rhodian jar-handles, and No. 44 has a very unusual stamp. What the outer circle and the "rays" symbolise it is very difficult to say with confidence. Nos. 45–48 appear to have the same stamp, and in each case the handles are identical in ware, weight and colour. In No. 46 the order of the letters is different.

Mr. Duncan concludes his notes (from which the preceding has been abstracted) with these words :—

"On the supposition that the letters may conceivably be read as יהב 'he gives,' and *tēth* and *'ayin* (ט and ע) may be numerals indicating the number of measures of oil given, I have most carefully considered each handle with regard to the size of vessel which they singly indicate; but only in a few cases have I found any indication of varying sizes of jars (Nos. 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 44–48). All the others point to jars of the same standard size and weight, though, of course, it is impossible to infer accurately the size of the vessel from the handle alone. In the references to 'Gezer' and 'Lachish' Plates under handles No. 36 (see above), the jars shown on these plates are not of any great size, measuring only 12 inches or thereby in height according to the scale given, and they are all very much of the same measurements. Until a larger fragment of one of these jars is found, or a complete one, nothing can be definitely inferred on this point."

It must suffice to present these notes and drawings, and to hope that further excavation may throw more light upon the stamps. On the lion-weight found at Abydos in Asia Minor, and of the Persian period, the inscription runs: "Correct (? אספרן) according to the commissioners (? סתריא) of money"; it is a pity that the arrangement on the four-letter stamps does not justify the guess that the true reading should be היטב "well." S. A. C.

Mr. Duncan reports on *49* jar-handles (p. 91, 1st line); not all are dealt with in the printed account, and of these only a selection are given in the plate. It was an error to renumber the handles on the plate. S.A.C.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

The Gateway of Palestine—A History of Jaffa by S. Tolkowsky. London; George Routledge and Sons, 1924. 10s. 6d. net.

JAFFA has long been ingloriously notorious as the worst of ports, as it is world famous for its oranges; the ancient Jaffa too is familiar to all in connection with Solomon, Jonah and St. Peter, but for how many is not this the sum total of all that Jaffa stands for? Few realize that "no other city, perhaps, has been so often besieged, captured, sacked, destroyed and rebuilt." The geographical surroundings resulted in endowing Jaffa with great military strength and agricultural and commercial wealth. "Thus it is that Jaffa became a standing temptation to the pirates of the sea and the roving bedouins of the desert, an obstacle alike and a coveted prize to every invader and conqueror, a *terra irredenta* to every nation that ever ruled on the Judaean mountains."

This book is the first attempt to present a comprehensive picture of this city's long and chequered history. It thus supplies—and very ably supplies—a real want.

Although we may take it as certain that the beginnings of human settlement upon this outstanding hill, rising steeply 130 feet by the sea, must go back at least 5,000 years, yet all archaeological traces of the first settlers are buried deep, beyond hope of recovery, below the ruins of the successive destructions of many centuries. The first clear historic reference occurs in the story given in the Harris papyrus of the captain of *Ya-pu* by Thutyi the general of Tahutimes III in the 15th century B.C., an account written two hundred years after the event and woven into a tale reminding us of the familiar "Ali Baba and the forty thieves." Twice Yapu is mentioned in the Tell el Amarna correspondence, and one of the letters from the Governor of the city, Yabitiri, clearly shows that it was even then an important fortress. In the reign of Rameses II the author of the "Travels of a Mohar" refers to this city's beautiful gardens, and also to the thievishness of its inhabitants.

That the legend of Perseus and Andromeda is located at Jaffa is explained by Mr. Tolkowsky as due to "a prolonged Philistine occupation of the town." In Pliny's day the remains of Andromeda's chains were still to be seen on the rocks of Jaffa.

During the unsettled centuries of Assyrian and Babylonian conquests, Jaffa must have repeatedly suffered along with other cities of Palestine. The plunder of Iappu is expressly mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib.

Under the Persian rule Jaffa was handed over to the Phoenicians as is witnessed by a very interesting Phoenician inscription found there in 1855, and another found in 1892 (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 171ff) mentions the building at Jaffa by one Ben Abdas of a temple to the god Eshmun.

Within a century of this Jaffa fell to the armies of Alexander the Great, who established a mint there, the coins of which were stamped with the city's name or monogram.

In the unsettled times that followed Jaffa repeatedly changed hands and was the scene of many a tragedy. At length Simeon took possession of it and this access of the Jewish State to the sea was celebrated by the effigies of ships on the famous monument at Modein and by the ship's anchors on several of the late Maccabean coins. So also the Romans, when they made Jaffa a free city, inscribed on the autogenous coins the representation of a galley.

Although Joppa is prominent in the history of the early church, the city does not appear to have been the seat of a Bishopric for some centuries. One of the most tragic local events described here in the words of Josephus (Wars. III, ix, 2) was the occasion when 4,200 Jews were destroyed by the combined violence of the sea and the hostility of the Roman soldiers.

During the Moslem insurrection and the Crusades, Jaffa (known by the Arabs as Yafah) was the scene of countless changes—sieges, destructions and refortifications. In 1016 and 1033 it suffered from the effects of violent earthquakes. In 1102 Saewulf witnessed a terrific storm in which twenty-three "very large ships" laden with pilgrims and merchandise were all wrecked and a thousand people were drowned. All through these centuries a steady stream of pilgrims landed here on their way to the Holy City.

No incident of this book is described with greater fullness and vividness than the great fight in July, 1192, between Richard Coeur-de-Lion and Saladin for the possession of Jaffa. Its total

destruction was brought about by the Christian king Peter I of Cyprus (1367). This was so complete that not a single house remained intact, and for three centuries no attempt was made to rebuild the city. The unfortunate pilgrims had to be lodged in three or four ruined vaults—damp, insanitary and dangerously insecure. Even kings and princes, if Christian pilgrims, had to put up with such accommodation.

It was not till the middle of the 17th century that things began to improve, and this through the action of the Franciscans, who founded their now famous hospice. When this beginning was made merchants began to follow on with furthur buildings, but there was much trouble from Bedouin robbers ashore and from pirates afloat.

The city, now partially fortified, endured (1775) a terrible siege followed by a massacre of its inhabitants at the hands of Mohammed Bey, and again in 1799 under Napoleon, when occurred the disgraceful incident of the massacre of 4,000 Turkish prisoners. This was followed by an outbreak of plague among the French troops. During the Egyptian domination of Palestine (1831-1840) some hundreds of Egyptians settled in small villages close to Jaffa; shortly after Jews commenced to arrive in menacing numbers. The German *Tempel gemeinde* founded their colony (1868) in the suburbs, and still more recently (1909) the Zionists have constructed the remarkable modern suburb of Tel Aviv which now contains one-third of the total population and covers an area as large as the whole Arab part of Jaffa. Appendix II gives details of interest regarding this settlement.

Of these modern developments this volume gives some excellent illustrations, many being taken by areoplane specially for this book; even more interesting are the reproductions of the Jaffa of earlier years, particularly the charming little drawing made 1675 by the Dutch painter, Lebrun.

There is an interesting Appendix on the "Judeo-Greek necropolis,' described more fully in some of our publications of which it is remarked that "much is still there that can be saved if the necessary steps are taken without loss of time."

There is also an interesting note on the Jaffa orange and some statistics on trade.

Altogether this book can be thoroughly recommended as a wonderful collection of facts, carefully verified and ably arranged to produce a history of enthralling interest.

E. W. G. M.

The Sixth Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem begins with a description of the excavations at Tanturah (Dora). The remains are chiefly of the Greek and Roman Period, and a deep deposit of fish-scales and sea-shells suggests the existence of a temple dedicated to Poseidon, or some similar god. There is a note on a Roman tomb near Amman, and a preliminary survey of prehistoric and other remains in the Huleh basin. There is also an interesting summary of the progress of excavations and of the care taken to preserve the results. The Second Special Publication of the School, a study of the architecture of the Dome of the Rock, by Capt. K. A. C. Creswell, has been issued as a Supplementary Paper, and can be obtained by members at the School's Office (2, Hinde Street).

In the "Christmas Holiday Number" of *Art and Archaeology*, a fine appreciation is contributed by Mr. E. Baldwin Smith of the life-work of the late Howard Crosby Butler. He was a born and successful archaeologist, and the work he accomplished at the excavation of Sardes will be well-known to all students of early Christianity in Asia Minor. Mr. James A. Kelso gives a well-illustrated and interesting account of a pilgrimagerie to Petra and its tombs. The recent excavations of the sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage are described by Mr. Byron Kuhn de Prorok, who observes that one of the greatest problems has been the solving of the question of the human sacrifices of the Carthaginians. Thousands of urns were found with the ashes and bones of newly born children and small animals. One fine stele bore a genealogy of 15 generations, or approximately four to five centuries of a Carthaginian family, whose origin evidently must have gone back to the first Phoenician founders. Altogether, the number is of extreme archaeological importance.

In the *Journal of the Palestinian Oriental Society* (Vol. V, No. 1), Mr. Stephan writes on "Lunacy in Palestinian Folklore." As is well-known, the man in the street is inspired by a certain reverence for the hidden unknown forces which seem to move the mentally deranged, and "it is often very difficult to tell a true lunatic from a dervish *majdub* in his holy rage." But the supposed curative value of ill-treatment is no less accepted and Mr. Stephan compares Jer. xxix, 26. M. Eliash tentatively suggests that Ps. lxxiv, 3-6,

refers to the effort of the Cuthites (Samaritans) to mislead the Jews as to the date of the New Moon by lighting beacons on the wrong night, and ascribes the Psalm to the time of Nehemiah. Prof. Albright discusses in detail the administrative divisions of Israel and Judah. Ranging, as usual, over a large variety of subjects, he deals with the census-taking by David and the probable population of Palestine, with the unique document in 1 Kings, iv, 7-19 (the centre of the article), and the question of the inscribed jar-handles. Throughout ingenious, it is characterized by his remarks upon the identification of ancient sites on the strength of archaeology and philology. Here Prof. Albright writes vigorously, and makes a number of interesting suggestions. He prefers Prof. Macalister's early view that the handles should be dated in the VIIIth and VIIth centuries B.C. to his later one that they were of the Persian period, and he regrets the "growing tendency to date certain classes of Jewish pottery later and later." The present writer gave his own view, *Q.S.*, Oct. 1909, p. 291, where he pointed out (*cf.* also *ib.* p. 293) that for archaeology and epigraphy it is necessary to understand quite clearly what is meant by "pre-exilic" and "post-exilic." Some writers argue as though our choice lay between the "pre-exilic" and "post-exilic" (or Persian) periods, entirely ignoring the "exilic" interval, and the gap between the fall of Jerusalem and the foundation of the Persian Empire. Even though this interval seems a short one, there are very good reasons why it is a mistake to ignore it. Again, it is forgotten that quite "moderate" Old Testament scholars allow that Palestine was not entirely denuded of its inhabitants during the exile, and also that there was no considerable return of exiles in the VIth century. It goes without saying that when the effort is made to fit archaeological and epigraphical data into a historical framework, we have to rely upon the Old Testament and such external *historical* evidence as can be obtained, and until more attention is paid to the problems of the *historical* development of Palestine, the arguments that are indifferent to historical criticism and devoid of historical method cannot be considered very seriously. Again, to return to Prof. Albright's paper, when he says "Since the records preserved in Chronicles date almost entirely from the last two centuries of the pre-exilic state, we may consider it highly probable. . . . . ." (p. 51), it is necessary to point out that such an assertion, made without any substantiating argument, is very difficult to accept, and it is very much to be

regretted that so clever, and in many respects so useful, an article should be spoilt by an uncritical attitude to the evidence of the Old Testament.

In the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 14, April, 1924, Prof. Albright summarizes the archaeological results of an expedition to Moab and the Dead Sea. The object of the expedition was to throw light upon the problem of the Cities of the Plain which tradition locates at the southern end of the Dead Sea. The southern Ghor (Ghōr es-Sāfi) was thoroughly explored, and the natural beauties of the locality irresistibly recalled the comparison in Gen. xiii, 10, to the "Garden of the Lord"; though the summer temperatures "justify the medieval Arabic comparison of Zoar to hell." The ancient Zoar now lies under the sea; it is the Byzantine and later Zoar which survive. The party found abundant evidence for the prosperity of the southern Ghōr in the early Arab times, but the really ancient remains were very few. At Bāb ed-Drā', Father Mallon found Early Bronze Age pottery, and a strongly fortified acropolis more than a thousand feet long, with a group of limestone monoliths. From the pottery it is thought that the site belongs to the centuries *c.* 2800—1800 B.C. As there is no town, and the monoliths (six were fallen and a seventh was in fragments) must have been brought from a distance, Prof. Albright observes that Bāb ed-Drā' must have been a holy place visited by pilgrims, and thinks that it was a sanctuary belonging to the cities of the Ghōr, Sodom and Gomorrah. It was perhaps abandoned early in the second millennium B.C., about the time when biblical tradition places the destruction: the cause of the catastrophe is to be discussed fully in the final publication of the results. It is pointed out that there has been a steady rise of the water of the Dead Sea, and there is little likelihood that the exact sites of the famous old cities will ever be recovered. At Ader, north-east of Kerak, was discovered "the first Moabite temple known thus far." The plan is unique, though reminiscent in some respects of Syrian temple-plans; and the building is supposed to be later than Bāb ed-Drā', and points to a time when an uncovered sanctuary and out-of-door worship were no longer the proper thing. Moabite pottery itself is closely akin to the Palestinian, "though there are very interesting samples of new, possibly Syrian, types: the influence of Damascus or Transjordania has always been very strong."

In *Biblica*, Dec., 1924, P Franz Dunkel, C.M., writes on "Fishing in Lake Genesaret and the New Testament." He discusses the chief types of nets, the time for fishing, ways and means of fishing, the various different sorts of fishes that are found; finally, Luke v, 1–17. Father Mallon gives his own account of the journey and the south of the Dead Sea, organized by Dr. Albright; it is much fuller, with map and illustrations and bibliographical information. He, it may be noticed, speaking of the pottery characteristic of "the last age of bronze and the first age of iron," adds the dates 1400-800 B.C.; it is a useful reminder that at present we cannot fix the archaeological periods with scientific accuracy, and that when a century or so is of the greatest importance for our ideas of internal development (*e.g.*, the Israelite Conquest, introduction of the Monarchy, the Exile), this absence of certainty must be kept in mind. Father Mallon gives an admirable account of the scanty resources of the district. The many remains of the Christian age raise the question how far quite late tradition has been effective in shaping and reshaping the modern local traditions which unwary travellers are often ready to regard as of immense antiquity. Father Mallon, for his part, points out incidentally that "dans ces régions les noms changent facilement" (p. 438, n. 2). The monoliths of ed-Drā' strangely resemble, he notes, those of Gezer, Megiddo, &c. The site itself is unique in its way, being intermediate between the Stone and the Bronze Ages, and though corresponding to the lowest strata of Jericho, Gezer, &c., no later deposits are found. It may have been the necropolis of the cities of the plain, and the traces of the fortress there may point to some protective measure against some invader—like Chedorlaomer. There are enigmas enough—a land traditionally fair and flourishing, but with these scanty and elusive remains! Some account of the sanctuary at Ader concludes the interesting report.

Among the more interesting articles in *Palästinajahrbuch*, xx (1924), may be mentioned, first, Dr. Dalman's "Through the Egyptian desert to Palestine." It is distinguished by its careful discussion, with special attention to the latest researches, of the sites along the track. He also writes on a visit to the Dead Sea (north end) and on Arabic songs for Christmas and Easter. Prof. Alt discusses fully the new "Amarna Tablets" acquired by the Louvre (1918), and their contribution to the history of the "Amarna" age

(first half of the 14th century B.C.). An ingenious attempt is made to associate what is said in them of the city of Shunem with Jacob's words on Issachar, within whose tribal district it lay: Issachar's subservience being what we might expect from the contemporary conditions. Prof. Alt finds a close contact between the Amarna Letters—the archives of Ikhnaton—and the Old Testament, but his argument must be treated with caution.

R. P. R. Savignac in the *Revue Biblique* (Jan., 1925), gives an account of an excursion to Transjordania and Kh.es-Samrā, with a number of Greek inscriptions, and, what is more unusual, some in Syriac. Mr. Gerald M. FitzGerald summarizes the excavations at Ur of the Chaldees (1923–24).

In the *Zeitschrift f. d. Alttest. Wissenschaft*, xlii (1924), 222 *seq.*, the Rev. Garrow Duncan writes on "Millo and the City of David." He argues that Josephus is no reliable witness to the old Jebusite stronghold, the details he gives being true only of a later period. He holds that Jerusalem did not overflow upon the Western Hill until the time of the Maccabees, when the Lower City lost its importance. Excavation establishes a Pre-Israelite or Jebusite occupation of the south-east hill from about 2500 B.C. and *c.* 1200–1000 B.C.; it was probably even then a Canaanite stronghold. In other respects Josephus proves correct, and speaks only too truly when he tells how Simon Maccabaeus scraped the whole surface of the Akra and threw everything into the Tyropoeon Valley. The result is that everything pre-Maccabaean has disappeared. "The Tyropoeon Valley ought to contain a valuable collection of antiquities, were it not that everything will be smashed to pieces." A new and welcome feature of this journal are the editor's notes on Palestinian archaeology and literature.

In the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xlvii, 3–4, Prof. Edwin Pilz discusses the figurines of some sort of mother-goddess so frequently found in the excavations. He classifies the main types, considers their origin, and shows (*a*) the extent to which foreign influences have contributed to form the types, and (*b*) their persistence into the first millennium B.C., and the inability of the monotheistic religion of Yahweh to eradicate them and the ideas associated with them. Prof. Alt argues that the old Egyptian

name for Palestine, *Retenu*, can be identified with the district of which Lod (Lydda) was its centre, and still preserves the name. Prof. Steuernagel begins a detailed account of 'Ajlūn, which promises to be an important contribution to its geography and topography.

Mr. Harold M. Wiener, *Early Hebrew History and other Studies* (Scott, London, 1924, 5s.), reprints two articles from the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1921, one on some factors in the history, the other on "the law of change in the Bible," in the course of which he draws attention to the changes in the legislation. "Moses carefully distinguished between that which was unalterable and that which could be, and in fact was, changed freely by himself and others as opportunity demanded." The idea that the letter of the Law of Moses was unalterable for all time is a later feature and "was in complete conflict alike with the provisions of the Pentateuch and the practice and intent of the lawgiver and of all the kings and prophets." A third chapter is new: on "the Biblical doctrines of joint, hereditary and individual responsibility." This is a vast and fundamental subject, and Mr. Wiener well points out that at the present day, by the side of the growth of the manifestation of various kinds of solidarity, heredity and psychology are being studied as never before. His subject, therefore, is one which, as he says, should be approached in the spirit of true scientific research.

The October issue of the *Journal of the Egyptian Archaeology* contains, this time, little of direct importance for Palestinian studies. R. Engelbach deals with the Egyptian name of Joseph, and interesting accounts are given of the further excavations at el-Amarna (by F. G. Newton and F. Ll. Griffith). "Recent Egyptian discoveries" are also summarized by Prof. Sir W. Flinders Petrie in the *Expository Times* (Jan., 1925). Mention is made of Hebrew papyri ascribed to the third century A.D., fragments of official correspondence by Zeno (under Ptolemy II) dealing with Palestinian slave-girls shipped to Egypt, and much else; tombs in the desert opposite Oxyrhynchus with traces of Jews and Aramaeans of the seventh century B.C. (*Ancient Egypt*, 1923, p. 38), a stele of the time of Ramses II found more than a hundred miles south of Goshen and naming the "scribe-engraver" Yahu-nama (Petrie, *Sedment*, ii, 27).

[This name, which Sir Flinders Petrie explains to mean "Y. speaks, or declares," could, and more probably does, mean "Y. is good."] There is increasing evidence for the influence of Semities in Egypt about the VIIth–VIIIth dynasties, like the Hyksos of the later period. Flints, etc., at Kau (in the Badari district) suggest the "Solutrean" culture that entered Europe across the south of Russia; "hence it is to the Caucasus that we must look as a common centre for the European and Egyptian immigrations." This is about 12–8000 B.C.

The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part II, gives an account of its Egyptian expedition, 1923 4. It is well illustrated, and throws new light on Queen Hatshepsut's work. A special feature is an article by Mr. Davis on the representation of foreigners, the accuracy of the Egyptian artists and artistic methods. In one instance, an adoring subject is shown in two attitudes, *first*, worshipping the king, and *then* kissing the ground—the king is not represented also in duplicate; it is evident that "Egyptian drawing was the echo of things thought rather than of things seen." Again in the tomb of Huy it is obvious that sometimes, at least, "Egyptian representations of ethnic types are not worth serious consideration." For its information and warnings the article repays careful attention.

Here may be mentioned the recent discovery of the evident Egyptian original of a small section of the book of Proverbs (ch. xxii, 17–xxiv, 22), namely, "the teaching of Amen-em-ope," an Egyptian sage, whose lore was first published by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (*The Wisdom of the Egyptians*, 1923). It is fully discussed by Gressmann in the issue of the *Z.A.T.W.* (above), and by Hubert Grimme in the recent number of the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (February). Not only is this discovery of very great interest for the Old Testament, but we find that the Hebrew writer has throughout adapted the Egyptian ideas to those of his own race. Obvious borrowing and reshaping are proved by this welcome discovery; and this combination is quite in accordance with what we find in Palestinian archaeology: indubitable evidence for foreign influence—if not borrowing—by the side of a certain individuality and independence.

Sumerian Religious Texts, by Prof. Edward Chiera, Pennsylvania. In this the first volume of the Babylonian Publications by the Crozer Theological Seminary, we have a number of interesting Sumerian texts, some new, others supplementing and correcting texts already known. In No. 1 we see how the hymns of the old Sumerian cults had to be rededicated for the new Semitic rulers of the dynasty of Isin who claimed divine honours for their kings, and had their names inserted in the old songs and liturgies. No. 4, a creation story, differs in content from any thus far discovered. It mentions the completion of the earth, seed, cold (seasonal changes), harvest, etc., and after each it is stated that someone or other of the many agricultural instruments did not exist. No. 8 is of exceptional interest as being what may be called "an Amorite creation story in Sumerian." All the gods are Amorite, and it is a question whether it proves the Amorite origin of Babylonian myth and other elements of culture, or whether, as Prof. Chiera argues, it is an Amorite attempt to endow their own god Martu with the qualities and deeds of the long established Babylonians. So we have the honourable achievements of the Amorite god Martu, and the temple he built in Ninab. The text supplements what is said elsewhere of the Amorites; they are said to have eaten uncooked food, and to have left their dead unburied; they knew not houses and cities, and were unacquainted with coin. A poem (No. 23) tells of the king's mother Abi-zimti and how "in holiness she brought him forth"—five times repeated in four lines. Other texts deal with the origin of civilization, and are to be fully published separately.

Last but not least must be mentioned the *Sumerian Reading Book*, by Mr. C. J. Gadd, M.A., of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum (Oxford, 1924, 10*s.* 6*d.*). As will have been seen from the preceding paragraph, Sumerian has much to offer. The field is large but the workers are few; and it is much to be hoped that this very handy grammar, by one of the few authorities in Sumerian, will have the effect of leading students to interest themselves seriously in the literature. The grammar is a thoroughly practical one, demanding neither profound preliminary studies nor the command of a specialist library. It contains a short grammar, a large selection of texts, transliterated and translated, full notes, vocabulary and a list of transcriptions. When one recalls

the debates of a generation or so ago, whether "Sumerian" really was or was not a language, the progress of cuneiform studies can be readily imagined, and it is especially pleasing that so competent a book as this should have been produced in the land of the father of Assyriology—Rawlinson. S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A Hebrew Weight.—Mr. Adolf Reifenberg, of the Department of Biochemistry, in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, has kindly sent a photograph of an inscribed weight, recently discovered in the vicinity of the city. It is conical, of rather hard white limestone, 16 mm. in height, largest diameter 17 mm., diameter of the base 20 mm., weight 9·76 gr. There is an inscription on the top, which it is suggested should be read *k-s-ph* (silver, money), but, to judge from the photograph, is clearly *n-ṣ-ph* (half). It is a well-known type, and specimens from Tell Zakaria weighed between 9·45 and 10·21 gr., and one from Gezer only 9·28. *See* Macalister, *Gezer*, ii, 292, P. Thomsen, *Kompendium d. Palästinischen Altertumskunde*, p. 92.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ	m
ג	g	נ	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	ש	s
פ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Sixtieth Annual General Meeting was held on Wednesday, June 17th, at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, Dr. Hall, Chairman of the Fund, presiding. There was a fair representative gathering. Slides were shown of the American excavations at Beth-shan, of which the Chairman gave an interesting account; and there were also slides of the Fund's work at Ophel. Speeches were made by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore, by Father Waggett, by the Fund's Hon. General Secretary in U.S.A., Prof. E. Grant, and others. The discussion was interesting and important in many ways; and the attention of our readers is specially drawn to the full report contained in this number. Though nothing sensational has been found at Ophel, it was agreed that solid results had been achieved, and that more might be hoped for, if funds were forthcoming.

Besides a report from Mr. Duncan, this issue contains *inter alia* the first instalment of the translation of a Latin MS., kindly furnished by Mr. H. C. Luke, B.Litt., M.A., former Assistant-Governor of Jerusalem, containing an account of a pilgrimage to Palestine by some Franciscan, evidently of the XVIth century. See pp. 140 *sqq.*

The "Jewish Palestine Exploration Society," while excavating in the area between the English Cathedral of St. George and the Italian Hospital, discovered portions of the so-called "Third Wall," *vide The Times* of June 17th. Reference to this was made at the Annual Meeting, see p. 125.

The Times of June 19th reports an extremely interesting discovery by Mr. Turville Petre, of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, in the shape of a skull of the Neanderthal type in a cave near el-Tābgha, to the north of Tiberias. According to this report, "the cave lies below well-defined historic levels, and contains under a layer of fallen roof-stones a couch of soil, six feet deep, rich in deposits of flint implements of the Mousterian type." See also *The Times* of July 3rd.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the death, last April, of the Rev. Canon Prof. C. F. Burney, D.D., D.Litt., a member of the General Committee, and a well-known Biblical and Semitic scholar. Prof. Burney, who was also Chairman of the Council of the British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem, had travelled in Palestine, and besides contributing to the *Quarterly Statement* an article on the meaning of the name Ophel (1911, p. 51), devoted a great deal of attention to Palestinian topography, the fruits of which are to be found in his commentary on the Book of Judges. This volume was much more than a commentary, containing as it does many valuable excursuses on Old Testament and Palestinian antiquities, an admirable survey of the external information bearing on the period of Judges, and new and excellent maps of Palestine.

We have also to record the death of Prof. Karl Marti, of Bern, one of our Honorary Local Secretaries, who as Editor for many years of the great international Old Testament Journal (*Zeitschrift für das Alttest Wissenschaft*) did much to further the study of the history and archaeology of Palestine.

A special interest is attached to the Seatonian Prize Poem "Jerusalem," recently published by the Rev. Telford Varley (Camb. Press, 1925). It is dedicated to Prof. Macalister, and the opening scene is suggested by incidents in his excavations at Jerusalem. A prefatory note refers to the suggestive discoveries that have been made on the site, and various allusions to them occur from time to time in the course of the poem. Copies of the little volume may be obtained from the Office, and by Mr. Varley's kindness all money received for copies so obtained will be applied in full for the benefit of the Fund.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 112 *sq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contribution :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
F. T. Lewis, Esq.	5	0	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof.. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

Names in Palestine (*First List*). Published by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, by the Royal Geographical Society, Kensington Gore, London, S.W. 7. (6*s.*)

The Near East. A Weekly Review of the Politics and Commerce of Syria, Palestine, etc. June 4: Oriental types, "The Orphan," by F. W. Chardin. June 25: A Palestinian stewardship.

The Expository Times.

Annals of Art and Archaeology, XI, No. 4: Oxford Excavations in Nubia (*contd.*), by Prof. F. Ll. Griffith.

The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, April, 1925: Articles on the Identification of Hittite and Anatolian place names, by W. F. Albright, and by L. A. Mayer and J. Garstang; also a review by H. R. Hall on works by Mayer and by Götze on the same topic; the kliné of Sarapis, by J. Grafton Milne; sacred trees in modern Egypt, by Winifred S. Blackman.

The Present and Future of Archaeology in Ireland, by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister.

Jerusalem: the Seatonian Prize Poem for 1924, by the Rev. Telford Varley. (Camb. Press, 1925.)

The New Judaea, April 8, etc.: The Hebrew University.

American Journal of Philology, XLVI, 1: The decipherment of the Lydian language, by A. H. Sayce.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, March: The Amorites in the Civilization of W. Asia, by Prof. G. A. Barton.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, February: Trip from Jerusalem to Gaza and back, by Prof. Albright.

Art and Archaeology, March: Temple of Abu Simbel, by B. T. Kurtz; Ancient basilicas of Carthage, by B. K. de Prorok.

Homiletic Review.

Jewish Quarterly Review, April: The name Ophir, by Herbert Loewe.

Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Nos. 2–4. No. 3: The Museum collection of Oriental seal-stones.

University of Pennsylvania: The Museum Journal, December, 1924: The Excavations at Tell el-Obeid, by C. L. Woolley.

The Unveiling of Jesus Christ. (The Concordant Publishing Concern, Los Angeles, U.S.A.)

Revue Biblique, April: The excavations at Byblus, by Father Vincent; topography of the Maccabaean campaigns; tombs recently discovered at Marissa, and at Abu Gosh, etc., by Father Abel; new Jewish Ossuaries with graffiti, by Father Savignac.

Journal Asiatique, October–November, 1924: Libyan language and the ancient toponomy of North Africa, by G. Mercier.

Sphinx: Revue Critique, XXII, 1: The distribution, etc., of polled cattle, by E. O. Arenander.

Biblica, March: The alleged Mosaic inscriptions from Sinai, by J. B. Schaumberger; the English excavations in Jerusalem, by A. Mallon; excavations in Babylonia, by A. Deimel, etc., etc.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. (Reviews of books on the Near East, etc.)

Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1925, Heft 1–2: The tasks of the scientific study of Post-biblical Judaism, by H. Gressmann; the Excavations in Samaria, by the same.

Die neueren Forschungen in Palästina-Syrien, by Peter Thomsen (Sammlung vorträge . . ., Mohr, Tübingen, 1925, 30 pages, 1m. 20).

Bible Lands, April: Canon Danby on Klausner's Life-times and Teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

Conscientia.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, April: Greek translation of the Fourth Quarterly Report.

Al-Mashrik, April: Les anciens rapports des Syriens avec l'Egypte, par l'Abbé Isaac Armalé, S.J.; Beyrouth romaine, Histoire et Monuments, par P. L. Cheikho, S.J; May: Les Noces d'Or de l'Univèrsité St. Joseph (by the same). (The articles by Armalé and Cheiko are continued).

From the Author, Prof. Vincent, O.P.: *La Peinture Céramique Palestinienne.* (From *Syria*, 1924.)

From the Author, Adolf Reifenberg: *Architecture und kunstgewerbe im alten Israel.* (From *Das Zelt*, vol. 1.)

From Mr. E. J. Pilcher: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925, Jan. and April.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books :—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864) ; published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I. *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

The Sixtieth Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at the Rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.1, on Wednesday, 17th June, 1925. Dr. H. R. Hall, D.Litt., F.S.A., Chairman of the Executive Committee, presided, and was supported on the platform by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore, D.D., Prof. E. Grant (Hon. General Secretary for the Fund in U.S.A.), Sir Charles Close and Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, Honorary Secretary.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, said: We had hoped at this meeting to have welcomed Lord Balfour as our Chairman, and though at first he thought it possible he might be able to preside, he came later to the conclusion that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the archaeological side of the work to take the chair. Field-Marshal Lord Plumer, who has been appointed to succeed Sir Herbert Samuel as Governor-General of Palestine, was also invited, but he, too, declined on account of his want of knowledge of the archaeology of the subject, but, with the geniality which is a well-known characteristic of his, he sweetened his refusal with a very acceptable donation to our funds.

The Hon. Secretary announced that letters regretting inability to be present had been received from Sir Charles Warren, Brigadier-General Paul, Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, Richard Cadbury, Esq., and the Rev. A. T. Richardson.

The Minutes of the 29th Annual Meeting held on 13th June, 1924, having been read, confirmed and signed, the Hon. Secretary reported that 47 subscribers had qualified for full membership since the last Meeting, including three Life Members. The Hon. Secretary regretted to have to report the death of Lord Abercromby, a munificent supporter of the Fund and one whose loss would seriously be felt, and also the death of the Rev. Dr. C. F. Burney, whose loss, though great to the Fund, was even greater to the Sister Society, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, of which he had been Chairman.

The Chairman, in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for the year 1924 and already in the hands of Members, asked that they be taken as read. This having been agreed, he said :— Whilst moving this resolution I should like to take the opportunity of showing you a few slides of the American excavations at Beth-shan. These excavations, parallel with our own at Ophel, should interest our members very much, especially those who are also interested in the Egyptian relations of Palestine, as, of course, I am. The excavations were carried on for the Philadelphian University Museum by Dr. Fisher, with whom, for a time, was associated our Assistant Secretary, Mr. Ovenden. Beth-shan, as you probably know, is at the eastern end of the Vale of Esdraelon and overlooking the Jordan, where it once commanded a very much frequented ford over that river leading from Galilee into Syria and so northward to the Sea of Tiberias and Damascus. The mound, which was crowned by the ancient fortress, is a typical tell of that part of the world, and we find that its strategic importance was recognised very early in the history of Palestine by the Egyptian conquerors. No doubt, when the Egyptians first advanced northwards from Palestine in the course of their conquest of Syria in the 18th Dynasty, they occupied and fortified this site, but it is not until the succeeding period of the 19th Dynasty that we find any considerable Egyptian relics there. On the top of the mound were the remains of the Egyptian fortress of the time of the 19th Dynasty, but I cannot show you the actual place where the famous reliefs of the Kings Seti and Rameses II were found, as it lies just outside the photograph on the screen. The columns you see are not of that period, but of Byzantine Churches. The area covered by the Egyptian fort was considerable. One of the important remains found was a stela of King Seti I, a tall round-topped monolith with a figure of the King Menmaa-Rē Seti, offering to the God Rē, the Sun-god ; and below are the lines of the inscription in which he speaks of his conquests. The stela text has not yet been published, but we hope it shortly will be. Seti I is the king who restored the dominion of the Egyptians over Palestine after it had been overthrown by the revolt of the Syrians allied with the Hittites against the Egyptians during the reign of the pacificist King Akhnaton, who, we remember, refused to reconquer Palestine and Syria which had been subdued by his predecessors two hundred years before and of which he was the rightful king. He was regarded

by the other kings of the time in letters and despatches as the legitimate Lord of Syria and Palestine; as the anointed king who gave the holy oil of unction to the Semitic kings under him. But he chose, because of his—at that time—peculiar pacificist ideas to forgo his dominion over Syria, with the result that the whole country was plunged into chaos until Seti I reasserted the Egyptian dominion. The stela is his monument of that reassertion at Beth-shan. He put up other monuments, one near Damascus, one even as far north as Homs, and another east of the Jordan at Tell esh-Shihāb in the land of Moab, near Mzērib. His son Rameses II, who was called Rameses the Great, also put up a stela near Mzērib at Sheikh Sa'd, where Hrozny recently excavated and found fragments of supposed Hittite (?) sculpture and an inscription (Aramaic ?) of the VIIIth century B.C. (see *Times*, April 29th). Rameses II also put up at Beth-shan a stela similar to that of Seti; and he made in his inscription the very interesting statement that he used the tribe of the 'Aperiu to work on his fortress city of Per-Rēmasesu. That, no doubt, is historical confirmation of the Biblical tradition of the working of the Israelites at the cities of Pithom and Rameses, and at first sight it seems difficult to reconcile with recent theories, which would place the Exodus considerably earlier than has generally been thought. It has of late years generally been placed at the end of the reign of King Meneptah, about 1220 B.C., or even a generation later than his time. That theory meets with many difficulties, because it shortens the time of the Judges so enormously, and in spite of the fact that it has been supported by eminent authorities (rather, we suspect, in despair at the general paucity of evidence on the subject and as one clutches at a straw, so to speak), there is no doubt that it has very little in its favour.

The only other theory which seems to apply is that which makes the expulsion of the Hyksos, the shepherd kings, contemporaneous with the departure of the Israelites which was part of the same event as the departure of the Hyksos. Or, in other words, the Exodus is simply the expulsion of the Hyksos looked at from the Hebrew angle of vision. That, of course, would make the Exodus three hundred years before the time of Rameses II. We know from an inscription of King Meneptah that Israel already lived in Palestine in his time, so that the Exodus may fairly be regarded as having already taken place. In any case, the current statement

that Meneptah *was* the Pharaoh of the Exodus is not borne out by the facts. But his father Rameses II was, in all probability, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, nevertheless. It would look as if the accounts of the using of the Hebrews for the building of the cities of Pithom and Rameses relate to a period later than the period of the actual stay of the Israelites in the Land of Goschen; that they were, in fact, prisoners of war taken by Rameses II from Israel in the course of the campaigns of which this is the monument, three centuries after the Exodus and, probably, nearly a century after the entry into the Promised Land. Perhaps in the old days, when the Hyksos were in Egypt, some of their ancestors may have been used by the Egyptianized Hyksos kings in exactly the same way, and the two reminiscences may have been united, with the result that the working on the buildings of King Rameses has been placed in the earlier period.

At all events, I think you will agree that the mention of the 'Aperiu, who are in all probability the Hebrews, is a very good representation of the Hebrew *'Ibhrīm*, using the Egyptian plural sign instead of the Hebrew; and it is the same name as that used probably for the Hebrews in the el-Amarna letters, viz., *Habiru*.

You next see on the screen the latest monument of the three. It is a very curious statue, apparently intended for a figure of King Rameses III; but those of you who are well acquainted with Egyptian art will see that the figure, although more or less Egyptian in style in the way it sits on its throne and in the disposition of its hands upon its knees, yet is very crudely and barbarously rendered, especially in the face and in the long wig which is shown in a way in which it is never shown in Egyptian art. We can have no doubt that that is a native Palestinian representation of a figure intended for the King Rameses III, who was the king who came after the time of Meneptah, and in whose days (1196 B.C.) the Philistines, coming from Caria, Lycia and Crete, invaded Palestine, attacked Egypt and were defeated by him. So you see that he, again, asserted Egyptian authority at Beth-shan, but apparently not for long, because it cannot have been very long after that time that the Egyptian power finally disappeared from Palestine and the immigrant Aegean people of the Philistines became the dominant power in the south. I think you will agree with me that Dr. Fisher and his coadjutors, Mr. Rowe the Egyptologist and others, have made very valuable

discoveries indeed at Beth-shan, and one is sorry to hear that the work is not being continued there.

I want now for a moment to direct your attention to another interesting discovery which has been made on the confines of Palestine, and that is, again, a very important one in regard to the question of Egyptian domination and rule in that part of the world. This is the discovery by the French Expedition under M. Montet at Byblos, the modern Jebail, on the Phoenician coast, of remains that prove that this place was an Egyptian colony, even in the time of the Pyramid-builders, as far back as 3000 B.C. There were Phoenicians there then, and there was also an Egyptian colony there: an Egyptian temple after a thoroughly Egyptian style, and purely Egyptian remains, going as far back as the end of the 3rd Dynasty. And after that Egyptian rule in Byblos seems to have been continuous; it seems to have been throughout the ages a sort of Egyptian colony; and that explains how it was, during the long wars at the time of Thothmes and Rameses, that Phoenicia remained, on the whole, faithful to Egypt and was so even down to quite late days.

Another very important find which has been made by M. Montet which interests us very much is the oldest Phoenician inscription, the oldest known Semitic alphabetic screed, which takes back our knowledge of the Phoenician-Aramaic script three hundred years earlier than we had before known it to exist. That was found in the tomb of Ahiram, Prince of Byblos, a contemporary of Rameses II (*c.* 1250 B.C.). Accordingly the inscriptions on the Moabite Stone and the Siloam inscription are now antedated by possibly two or three hundred years. We find, then, that the alphabetic writing goes back to the 13th century B.C., and if it was, as seems likely, evolved from Egyptian hieroglyphic originals, its evolution must have taken place at a very much earlier time, and for all we know the territory of Byblos no less than the peninsula of Sinai (where Dr. Gardiner supposes it to have taken place) may have been the spot where the alphabet was first evolved.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop Gore, D.D., in seconding the motion for the adoption of the Report, said: I really am not qualified to say anything of much interest or importance, but I have recently returned from a tour of some months in Egypt and Palestine and, of course, I am deeply impressed with the value of the work being done in

different directions by the processes of excavation and, in particular, by the work which is being done close under the walls of Jerusalem in the disclosure of the old walls of Jebus, as it seems, in the immediate neighbourhood, by this Society. It is impossible—I do not say merely to travel in Egypt and Palestine—but it is impossible to read history in its most modern form at all without being profoundly impressed with the results which have flowed from excavation of recent years, not merely in respect of what may be described as the more old-fashioned ideas of the purpose of excavation, but with regard to the whole re-writing of human history and human civilization. It is impossible to think of the results which we associate with the names of Crete and Ur without perceiving how revolutionary the effect of those excavations have been on our whole conceptions of human history. There is no question that the modern tendency is profoundly to deepen our impression of what came to mankind from the East, and even, in a certain sense, to reduce our impression of what came from Greece by its native genius. That sort of alteration of emphasis, if you come to trace its origin, has been almost all due to the results of excavation.

I suppose that there have been divers motives which have led to excavation. Originally people dug in the old sites mainly in the hope of discovering something beautiful. That is still, I am thankful to say, a result of excavation, as is plain if we think of all that has been discovered in connection with Akhnaton and Tutankhamen or in the more recent excavations at Sakkara. You cannot doubt that a wholly new conception of the extraordinary beauty to which Egyptian art attained at certain periods has been gained. I do not doubt, also, that the artists are at the present moment rather jealous of the archaeologists, so that they remark, with some bitterness, that they would pull down the Parthenon if they thought there was a Hittite tablet underneath. But without attempting to estimate the relative value of art and archaeology, you cannot doubt the extraordinary interest of the results in our broad conceptions of history; the immense alterations which have been produced by the discovery of archaeologists which have only been made possible by digging.

Just after seeing the Pyramids at Sakkara and the new discoveries of Mr. Firth, I travelled in the train with Professor Breasted, and I was talking of the discoveries being impressive. He said, "Of course they are. I shall have to re-write the first chapters of all my

books." It does upset one to witness that extraordinarily perfect work in connection with what claims to be the earliest stone building in the world—a building which goes back to the earliest Pyramid builders; the extraordinary beauty and perfection of that work does electrify one and does throw a new and a most interesting light on that very odd and discredited idea of progress.

In regard to Palestine—for, of course, I have no right to talk about Egypt in this place and under these circumstances—we appear to have an amazing flood of new light being thrown on the position of the Philistines. We know that Matthew Arnold was not the first to treat those unhappy people as a synonym for what is stupid and uneducated. I gather now we are to regard them as the pioneers of civilization, the inventors or introducers of writing and of the beginnings of art into Palestine, so that in future it will be the highest compliment to call a person a "Philistine." All this is profoundly interesting.

I trust that archaeology will never despise or override the claims of beauty for its own sake. I trust also that it will always continue to serve the purpose with which a good deal of it has been connected as a motive in Palestine—the purpose of elucidating the Bible—though at present it must be admitted that it has perplexed rather than elucidated the questions which arise about the interpretation and historicity of the Old Testament or, at any rate, about some important questions connected with it, such as that to which the Chairman alluded, of the date and period of the Exodus, and whether it was of the magnitude that we have been hitherto instructed to attach to it. But what cannot be doubted is the revolutionary effect on our ideas of the development of civilization and its antiquity which have resulted from excavation of recent times. Therefore, it is urgent and important not to allow those who are so thoroughly qualified to carry out this sort of exploration, and to give us the light which we need to put in order the materials, to fail for lack of funds and support at home. We all know there are a few who are exceedingly keen about it, but there is no reason in the world why a very much larger circle should not be interested in the subject and should not, therefore, give it the support which it so urgently needs, because it is no doubt an occupation which is not only very attractive but also exceedingly expensive.

And so I come to the particular point, which is the excavations which are being carried on under the auspices of this Society on what

seems to have been the original site of Zion and the original city of Jebus. I saw them twice, once under the guidance of the Bishop of Jerusalem and once under the guidance of Dr. Masterman. I am not at all expert, but they are extraordinarily interesting, and the conclusions arrived at appear to be fairly certain. It would be altogether lamentable if it was not possible to carry them out owing to the Society not being supported with money. Of course, in that as in other cases, people are apt to draw larger conclusions all of a sudden than the facts warrant. That is always so. As soon as you get excavations and discoveries there is always an exaggerated estimate of what has been attained which some people jump to and which then has afterwards to be reduced. The solid historical result which has been here attained is very considerable, and I daresay Dr. Masterman will explain it to you in a way which I should not be capable of. I only come back as a fairly ignorant tourist to bear witness to the extraordinary importance of what is going on in this particular place; to beg you to let it continue; and also to call your attention to the fact that in our general understanding of the history of human civilization the revolutionary results which have transformed our views within the last generation have been almost entirely due to these laborious and expensive diggings. Expensive they must be, and, indeed, if you see them being prosecuted, they carry their own evidence of expensiveness on the face of them. That is inevitable. But the results which have been attained, and especially those attained within the last thirty years, seem to me to make it indisputable that they are worth the expense because they are giving us a wholly new view of the origins and the history of civilization.

Mr. H. Bentwich, LL.B.: Before the Report is put, I rise, with some deference and hesitation after the profoundly interesting statements made by yourself, Mr. Chairman, and by Bishop Gore, from the archaeological point of view, with regard to the work which is being done by the Society, to make a comment on the Report itself and at the same time to make a suggestion. The thing that strikes me, and I dare say it has struck a good many members who have read the Report, is the rather inadequate result which has been obtained from the Ophel excavations having regard to the enormous expense of carrying them on. Necessarily that expense arises very much from the fact that those excavations adjoin the city, the

capital of Palestine, where it is very expensive indeed to secure the opportunity of carrying on the excavations. The results which have so far been published are scarcely adequate to the expense. I feel also that in that particular area there are a number of other societies carrying on similar work, and that the results which may be obtained from continuing excavations are not likely to be lost, because for the moment this Society may be unable, through the great expense, to continue the work, for the reason that it will be continued, no doubt, by the other societies interested in work on the spot. We saw in to-day's *Times* reference to a great discovery which has been made by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society—the discovery of the Third Wall of the city. That is only one of the many organisations at work there. The Americans also have works in the neighbourhood and have done a great deal of work which they will, no doubt, be very glad to continue. But I am anxious, as a very old member of the General Committee of this Fund, that it should consider the desirability of resuming excavations which were dropped for a period on the ancient site of Gezer on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road which produced results of enormous value at comparatively small expense. That site is not near a city, but out in the open country, and the work there was carried on, even under the Turkish régime, with the minimum of expense. Certainly the work carried on there for six years by Professor Stewart Macalister produced the most notable of all the series of publications issued by the Society and the most notable contributions to archaeological science and to the discovery of beauty to which the Bishop has referred. I hope the Committee will take into consideration the desirability of renewing the excavations at Gezer, which were suspended in consequence of the difficulties, as an alternative to the very expensive operations at Ophel; and I want to give the assurance also that the Jewish community, being very much interested in the Gezer site through the new settlement being effected there, can be relied upon cordially to support a renewal of those excavations, if undertaken by the Fund.

The CHAIRMAN: As Chairman, I welcome what has been said by Mr. Bentwich, but I must point out that one must not expect that excavations will produce sensational results every time. We have all been a little spoiled by Tutankhamen and we expect things which cannot always be realised. As a matter of fact, I am not at all sure

that the work which has been done at Ophel, including the discovery of Millo and the breach which David made in the Jebusite wall, is not of very considerable importance, in spite of what Mr. Bentwich has said. I am by no means inclined to regard lightly the work which has been begun by an excavator of the capacity of Professor Macalister, to whose capabilities the speaker has borne witness and on whose advice we have worked at Ophel. It is a site which must be of very great interest; it is the site of the original Jerusalem—that is, the city which was the fortress of the Jebusites; the place which the King of Jerusalem in the time of Akhnaton ruled and to which he sent his letters and despatches to the King of Egypt; the place that Joshua could not take, but which David took when its time was fulfilled. Whatever we find there is of interest, even if we do not find a great deal, because it is the remains of the most ancient Jerusalem, and that is the place, after all, I think, most of us want to know especially about. Gezer is interesting; it would interest me in some ways even more than Jerusalem, because we should find probably there some of the Philistine antiquities which, no less than our last Chairman, Dr. Hogarth, I greatly desire to find, since they are the most civilized relics, seemingly, that we find of that period in Palestine; at all events, the Philistine culture was obviously much higher than that of the contemporary Israelites. But I do not deny the paramount interest of Jerusalem to the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund, and, on the whole, I feel sure that the subscribers are satisfied with the results that have hitherto been gained, although not sensational, and I do not think they will ever be sensational in the ordinary journalistic sense. We are getting what is much more important, scientific results; and they are worth money, and plenty of it.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman: I only want to say this, that as Honorary Secretary I am more than delighted that someone has criticized us. We recently received a letter from Sir Charles Warren in which he said the great bane of the Society was that subscribers did not raise controversies. We never get the subscribers' point of view. I, therefore, most heartily welcome criticism. Time makes it essential for me to be brief, but I must answer one point with regard to the suggestion that other societies are working at Ophel. They are not. When the Ophel site was offered to us we were engaged in

excavations at Askalon which were very interesting, but we felt that this was a unique opportunity. The offer was made to various societies, and any society was allowed to take it up who had £5,000 to start with. No society took it up but ourselves. It is perfectly true that Lord Rothschild has some land at the south which Professor Weill has excavated, but no society has done anything at Ophel. The Americans are not there, the French are not there, and the Jews are not and, judging by the action of people in the past, if we leave it, it is left altogether. It would be a thousand pities to leave it when we have just begun to get results of great importance.

Just a word with regard to what is put forward as the supposed Third Wall. When I was out in Jerusalem I found a single stone had recently been uncovered on the line of what had been years ago described, I think, by Robinson, as the possible line of the "Third Wall." In *The Times* to-day you read that they have come across some more thick walls of massive and splendid stones. Some of us know them. There is no proof—I am speaking subject to correction, because we have only had the report in *The Times*—that that is the Third Wall. Moreover, that is not an archaeological excavation. Certain stones have, by chance, been uncovered. Dr. Mayer, of the School of Archaeology, assisted by another, has been trying to see what they are, but the discovery must not be held to be the result of serious excavations.

The CHAIRMAN: Undoubtedly every consideration will be given to the sites we excavate as hitherto. We have gone to Ophel, I think, with the consent and the cordial support of our subscribers, and we are quite sure when we continue with the excavation we shall make some interesting discoveries, such as those which we have already made; but, as I said previously, excavations are not always productive of sensational results, and one must regard critically the first reports of work done as appearing in newspapers. The results may not be so wonderful as they, at first sight, appear.

The Report and Accounts were unanimously adopted.

PROF. E. GRANT (Hon. General Secretary for the Fund in U.S.A.) said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my privilege to propose the election of Officers and Executive Committee (the names are given below, p. 130), and I have been asked also to say a few words with regard to a visit I paid to Palestine this spring. My first

actual experience of the country, and I may say my first interest in the work of the Fund, began during three years' residence in Palestine some twenty years ago. At that time, through the courtesy of Professor George A. Barton, Director of the American School of Archaeology, I was included in a party of the School which enjoyed camp privileges at Gezer for several days as guests of Professor R. A. S. Macalister. Last spring I spent two months in the country noting the changes, the good government, good roads, and much else that might be mentioned. Motor cars have come in since my first visit, and I feared lest perhaps the remote villages and the life of the Arab peasants might have been affected unfavourably by some of the progressive changes which have taken place. But I found that whereas in the past the less serious tourist used to go through the land in something between five and seventeen days, now, thanks to the motor car, they can do it in two and five days and do much less damage! In many of the remoter villages away from the roads I found the same old courtesy, simplicity and hospitality, and not a trace of fanaticism.

I spent most of my time, as formerly, at Ramallah and in the district of which that is the head, comprising some sixty villages. It is the old country of Benjamin and Ephraim, and of the books of *Judges* and *Samuel*, a country that has not had too much attention in the past, partly, I think, because it is so near Jerusalem. People coming from the north and west usually hasten through it to Jerusalem, and it is just far enough from that city to discourage people from making it their headquarters. From extensive trips and observations made in the Ramallah district, I have found it profitable to visit rather freely the villages and the native fellahîn, to study certain things which are found nearer the surface than exploration usually notes.

I may add that I went over some of the country looking for traces of occupation in Biblical times, particularly in New Testament times, and by collections of pottery taken from a great many places, which were submitted to experts in Jerusalem. I received the impression of many cities showing plain signs of occupation from the Persian period and onwards, and also in the earlier period.

I went over the sites of former excavations at Askalon, Gibeah, Taanach, Megiddo, Beisan (Beth-shan), Samaria and a number of

cities, finally closing with Ophel. But the thing that most amazed me in Palestine of to-day, with its wealth of opportunity and wide open privileges, was the great stillness on the archaeological front. Except at Ophel, almost nothing has been done lately. It seems as if we had fallen into a very quiet lull, which we hope is the prelude to the storming of some of the strongholds of antiquity. Owing to the kindness of Mr. J. Garrow Duncan, I saw the Ophel excavations more than once, and was impressed with his array of walls and ceramics. I was perhaps even more impressed with his unfailing kindness to the native people, with whom he seems to get on so well. But even in the Ophel fields south of Jerusalem, digging was almost at a standstill. The thing ought to be cleared to the rock. The chain of exploration from the days of Sir Charles Warren away up at the south-east corner of the city, the work of Bliss, Güthe, Weill, Parker and others, who have worked on those sites now represented by this liaison excavation of the Palestine Exploration Fund, ought at some time, not too far distant, to be carried through to completion. We ought to know what is in that wide open space between the south wall of Jerusalem and the King's Gardens, at least we ought to clear the old city. Just now there is little besides cauliflowers and a few other respectable members of the vegetable world standing in our way. Such favourable conditions cannot last indefinitely. It seems a great pity that there should be even this lull; a greater pity that there should be any suggestion of ever letting go of the work on a mound without the most thorough and systematic scientific work being done, and that without regard to any theory or preconceived goal. Each place ought to be cleaned up in a scientific manner right to the rock.

Rev. P. N. Waggett, D.D.: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am allowed to second the proposed election of the Executive Committee although my name appears among them, and I am glad to have the opportunity of saying, as one of the Executive of the Society, a word of enthusiastic welcome of the kindly criticism which has been made. It is an immense advantage, and when that criticism comes from so steadfast a friend of our work and a bearer of a name so honoured, and to me so beloved, as the name of Bentwich, for I was associated with his son in the administration of justice when I was a Political

Officer for Palestine, it is an event which ought to rank high among the happy events of this Meeting. I hope it will tend towards an enthusiastic and almost excited support of the Executive in carrying on the work, not the work of excavation in general but of excavation in Ophel. Excavation does not mean looking for something that you want in the place where you believe it to be. Such excavation is a sort of child's play. Excavation means clearing up a site which, in general, by a long and unchanging tradition is known to be an interesting one ; and what place in the world could be so interesting as the site of the original city which David took ? May I be allowed as a morphologist to compare excavation with one of the processes in comparative anatomy ? When I was a boy and had just taken my Degree at Oxford with some distinction I was set to work to ascertain the position of the renal organs in crustacea, that is lobsters, and the joke is that they have no such organs ! But in order to establish even a negative result for the scientific world, which will not take anything on trust, it is necessary to go right through the thing from beginning to end. I hope that at Ophel we are going to establish something very different from a negative result. But science is so self-sacrificing that in order to secure certainty it will cut bang through a thing ; and its method of investigating organic substances is to freeze them, or otherwise solidify them, and then cut them up into innumerable slices so that there is no portion which has not been investigated. And it is in the spirit of not expecting and not being doomed to a negative result that we have to continue to encourage men to go through this site of incomparable interest, I say " incomparable " advisedly. I feel as much as anybody among the ignorant can feel the immense attraction of the Philistine sites. That is a part of the country which we came to know very well in the course of conflict, and a part of the country which might and, in fact, has already produced startling results. Nevertheless, it cannot compare for sacred and historical interest with the Jerusalem site.

We can only do this work by steady, constant hammering away. It would be fatal to all scientific research if disappointment led the researchers to try somewhere else. That would never do. One word about expense, and the expense is rather considerable. With continued practice in using the men who have to be employed it may be possible to reduce the expense somewhat, but nothing will reduce it in the Holy Land much below four times what it was before the war.

The whole level of comfort and dignity has been raised; the people there share in the rise of prices which is everywhere. They have learned from the West that it is not right for workpeople to work at the expense of their physical capital, to use up their bodies; consequently, you will never get the expense below four times the figure that it was prior to the war, but that ought to be done. The expense of excavation, however, is a matter of months, it may be tens of months or even years; but the rewards of excavation are those which continue to act through all the ages that follow. They give a new *point d'appui* for all future discoveries; they alter the very basis of our science. That is what has happened with regard to the stelae. Found in a moment, they remain for ever to give fresh points of discovery. I can imagine nothing more worth while myself, apart from the work of Christian missions, than such work as that of excavation. I believe we have hold of a rare good thing. I was invited the other day through having fairly well-to-do relations, although I have no money myself, to invest in the recovery of the Navarino treasure ships. I was told that I should share in £10,000,000, and supposing I did so share, every pound is exactly like another. I have never seen one sovereign which differed from another in glory. But if I could find on a stela a new record of the conquest of David, new lines by which it would be possible to orientate better and more clearly define both the ancient, middle and modern or imperial cities of Jerusalem, then that would be worth all the sacrifice that could be made, because I should have something that would last for ever. I trust our meeting, which has been so much more interesting than usual, will lead to the resolve that there shall lay behind the Executive of the Palestine Exploration Fund the constant support of a large body of enthusiastic people.

The CHAIRMAN: I need hardly say that I associate myself with Father Waggett, and also with the Honorary Secretary, in welcoming Mr. Bentwich's criticism and suggestions, but at the same time I hope that he will have been converted by the eloquence of Father Waggett and that he will realize that we have a serious scientific intention in excavating Ophel. It must necessarily be the most interesting site in Palestine, since it is the original Jerusalem, and we want to find out the remains, small, humble though they may be, of the earliest and the oldest Jerusalem, and in that work I am sure we shall continue to have Mr. Bentwich's sympathy and support.

The motion was then put and carried and the Chairman declared the following duly elected: *Chairman:* Dr. H. R. Hall. *Hon. Treasurer:* Sir Charles Close. *Hon. Secretary:* Dr. E. W. G. Masterman. Dr. S. A. Cook; the Rev. Canon Dalton; Prof. A. C. Dickie; Sir Arthur Evans; the Hon. Everard Feilding; Dr. D. G. Hogarth; Prof. R. A. S. Macalister; Charles Marston, Esq.; R. L. Mond, Esq.; the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore; Brig.-General Paul; F. W. Percival, Esq.; Sir W. Flinders Petrie; the Rev. Prof. Sayce; the Rev. P. N. Waggett; General Sir Charles Warren; Ernest Richmond, Esq.; and O. G. S. Crawford, Esq.

Sir Charles Close (Hon. Treasurer), pointed out the various places of interest on the map of Ophel, indicating especially a wall of Maccabaean date and some caves communicating with the well-known underground channel going to Siloam. The Committee were anxious that it should be possible to follow in the map all the references that might be made in texts, and at the same time it was hoped to put on the map the results of all previous excavations on the whole of the spur of Ophel, including those of Dickie, Warren and others. The map shown had been prepared at the Ordnance Survey at Southampton under the general superintendence of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, and it was hoped when complete the map would show not only what had been done in the past sixty years on the spur of Ophel but, more important, what was to be done next.

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman (Hon.Secretary), also pointed out various sites of interest on the map and said: Sir Charles Close when in Egypt very kindly undertook the mission of going over to Jerusalem to survey and properly record the new discoveries on the map, and that has enormously added to the scientific value of our work. It is mapped on a permanent basis and with it will be mapped all the previous discoveries. The Society is very grateful to Sir Charles Close for his careful Survey, and, I may add, that I spent a very pleasant time helping him.

You will see on the map the main part of the great tower which is generally considered to be early Israelite; it may be called Davidic or Solomonic, but it is certainly an early Hebrew tower which appears to have been inserted inside a glacis which belongs to the Jebusite wall and certainly older than the tower. There is also a small tower which shows what a confusion of things we have to deal with, and

that can be dated with great certainty to be of the Maccabean period. Following south, we have an extraordinary complex of walls which have by no means been fully cleared up; only about a week ago we received a photograph, for which I had specially asked, showing these various walls (see Plate II): the Greek wall lying partly on the top of a wall which can be put down to the time of Hezekiah, and behind that the remains of the ancient Jebusite wall lying upon the ancient scarp.

We have heard the criticism that we have very little to show, that the results are disappointing and that money has drained out because the costs of wages have been so great. But you must remember that we have a certain amount of money outflowing for office expenses and for publication and so on, but everything we get on top of that will be put to the work of excavation. I do not agree that we have nothing to show. This is a great national monument and the greatest Hebrew thing that has been found in Palestine. If it was safe to dig further it would be found that this great town goes down at least twenty feet below the level to which we have exposed it, but the danger is that it might topple forward and be destroyed. The Government Department of Antiquities are now clearing this up. The Palestine Exploration Fund have revealed this great national monument, and it is being strengthened and will be on exhibition for many years to come as the greatest monument to Jebusite and Hebrew civilization in the country. I do not agree that that is nothing. At the same time we do not want to stop the work, though I am obliged to tell you that we have to suspend this work at the present moment for a time. There are two special reasons for that. One is that the gentleman who is doing the work has only two years' leave from a certain life appointment which he now has to take up, otherwise he will lose it. The other is that we have but a few hundred pounds in hand, and that is not sufficient money to embark on another part of Ophel. We must get an accumulation of some hundreds of pounds before we can safely do that.

When Sir Charles Close and I went out to the country we were commissioned to see whether it would not be possible for us to try and recover the old walls on the western side, *i.e.*, to the east of the Tyropoeon. It is possible here to see portions of the main scarps on which the wall ran, and I have very little doubt that we shall find remains of the wall itself if we try. It was, however, decided, in

conjunction with Professor Garstang and Mr. Garrow Duncan, that to undertake it with so small a reserve would be absolutely useless. We are therefore going to delay it for a time whilst you help us, I trust, to get sufficient money to make a new start and take advantage of the opportunity we are obliged to let pass at the moment. Professor Garstang does not consider we are giving up our permit to excavate at Ophel; we are going to resume the work, but this particular section is now done. Part of what we have done will be covered in, part will remain, and when we begin again we shall want to see what there is on the other area. A most extraordinary condition here, which has been a little disappointing, is that builders in—probably—Maccabean times, for some reason, threw a great deal of the remains of the city over the walls into the valley. That you may see for yourself and those who study pottery say there is no doubt about it. There you have sloping down the valley, first of all, the Maccabean pottery; then the later Hebrew pottery, the Jewish and the pre-Israelite pottery in some cases right on top. I do not suppose that happened all over this site, but it has prevented us so far from getting as much of the actual old city as we should have liked. At the same time, the walls in themselves are very fine. I show you a picture of a corner tower on the north of the great bastion which has been built out either by Solomon or David, or one of the early Hebrew Kings, and on each side of north and south are the remains of the sloping glacis of the times of the Jebusites.

The tower I showed you is on the other side of the path shown on the screen in the picture before you. We were unable to remove the path, but the complex of walls has been excavated a little further south and followed down at least three times as far as shown in the picture. You can see the old scarp on which the Jebusite wall was built and a dark hole in which are the great caves, which we have cleared out. I may say that Mr. Garrow Duncan went over the whole of this again for fear he might have overlooked another of those extraordinarily interesting ostraka with Hebrew writing over it of which he found one, but he found no more. I give you the conclusions and results based largely upon the way the masonry has been cut and the character of the pottery that was found.

(The Hon. Secretary exhibited on magic lantern slides the photos reproduced as Figs. 1 and 2, and described them from the notes given by Mr. Garrow Duncan which are printed on pp. 134–139.)

I can only add what has been so much more ably said by Dr. Waggett, that there is an enormous amount more that must be done by somebody. We have put our hand to it, and I think we ought to go on. Therefore I crave your help and hope you will get the help of your friends in order that we may carry on.

In conclusion, I wish to propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Hall for presiding, and I want to say, I feel sure in your name, how very much we appreciate the fact that a man such as the head of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, gives us so much of his time. I need not say that in many ways the greatest object of our Society is elucidation of the Bible and everything connected with it. But in order that it may keep its thoroughly scientific aspect we have a number of distinguished archaeologists connected with our Society, and thus what is done can be done on thoroughly scientific lines and with the assurance that what is put forth is supported by the very best archaeologists, I am sure we feel we could not possibly have done better this afternoon than have the Chairman of our own Executive Committee to preside over us. We could not have had any one in the chair who gives more time, thought and energy and makes more sacrifices in our cause than our Chairman, Dr. Hall. I include in the vote of thanks our gratitude to all who have so kindly come to speak to us—Bishop Gore, Professor Grant and Dr. Waggett—and also thanks to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of this room.

The vote of thanks having been carried by acclamation, the CHAIRMAN thanked the Honorary Secretary for his kind words, and said he had been very pleased to preside on that occasion.

The proceedings then terminated.

SIXTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF THE EASTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM.

The Rev. J. Garrow Duncan, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

§ 1. *General Progress.*

Work was resumed on "Ophel" in the end of April, and since then we have been busy "filling in" for the most part. "Filling in" is a welcome item in the Excavator's programme when he is "snowed under" with materials to write up and photograph. It gives him the opportunity of sweeping and cleansing and classifying in preparation for the reception of fresh discoveries. My work of filling in, however, is robbed of this pleasurable anticipation, since it has not been possible to buy up this narrow strip of land and leave these ancient walls exposed to view.

Meanwhile, I have filled up the space between the Walls, but I built up the door-way of the "Great Cave" and left it empty. Part of this large dump came from the Cave itself, having been put there by Capt. Parker. The only real interest I had in the work of filling up was to watch the Dump very carefully for any small objects that might have been passed over, when the men removed it from the Cave. They had to work in semi-darkness and the filling in was wet and lumpy. It would have been pardonable, therefore, if small objects had escaped their notice. Nothing, however, of any importance has turned up, except a few Hebrew inscribed Jar Handles.

I have been particularly keen to watch for more Hebrew Ostraka, and impatient to see whether the Ostrakon which we found in the Great Cave was a solitary instance, or, as on-lookers are apt to think, one of many, the rest of which had been overlooked.

I have handled and myself washed carefully every likely scrap of pottery found in the Dump, but have not had the luck to find another Ostrakon. Very few scraps of pottery, in fact, were left in the Dump. The men had collected practically every sherd as they emptied the Cave, and every sherd was carefully examined at the time.

My workmen therefore deserve credit for having secured the solitary Ostrakon that fell to our luck.

§ 2. *The Contents of Field No.* 9.

The section which I have just reburied is by far the most interesting part that has been uncovered during our operations. At the suggestion of Dr. Masterman I have got a professional photographer to make a panoramic view of the remains of the Inner or Jebusite Wall in Field No. 9, showing the later accretions. (See Plate I.)

In the Photograph, A—B is the section of the Rock Scarp on which the Jebusite Wall stood.

The point A is just above the entrance to the Great Cave. The surface of this scarp is only 14 feet below the present level of occupation. The Jebusite Wall was built some 6 or 8 feet back from the outside edge of the scarp, and one or two courses of it are still *in situ* on the top of the scarp. The block C is of large dimensions and obviously belongs to the original Wall. Above these one or two courses, however, the masonry is Arabic.

The Arabs used the old Wall as a foundation for a house, or houses. The point E marks the corner of one of these houses and E—E^1 marks the twelve feet breadth of an Arab street, which goes down to the surface of the scarp.

Another Solomonic Repair.

In making this street the Arabs pushed out the three bottom courses of the Jebusite Wall. The masonry fell in three courses and lay in such a position, as suggested it had been part of a half-arch, that spanned the space between the Walls and carried the street across it. This fallen masonry is shown on Plate II (K), but it has been removed in Plate I. It was not an arch. It was simply the three lowest courses of the Jebusite Wall that had been pushed out to make way for the street; and the interesting fact about it is that the lowest course and part of the second consisted of stones with Solomonic dressing.

There had, therefore, been at this point another repair by Solomon on the walls of the City of David, his father. The large block marked D (Plate I), also bears Solomonic dressing, and is the only block of this repair by Solomon left *in situ*.

The south side of the Arab street is outlined by the Wall of another Arab house. The cistern (F) of this house was built on to the face of the ancient Wall and rests on its three lower courses.

The plaster is late Arab plaster, and is noteworthy for the fact that the coat beneath the finishing coat is full of carefully chosen round pebbles. These pebbles serve as a key to fix the finishing coat upon.

Pebbles of this nature, all of a similar size as here, were used for keying the final coat of plaster in the storerooms of the Roman house which I uncovered in Field 7. The plaster, however, was different. In this cistern it is full of potsherds broken small. These give the surface a reddish appearance. This plaster is so hard that the men declared it had been mixed with oil. Their tools could scarcely break it.

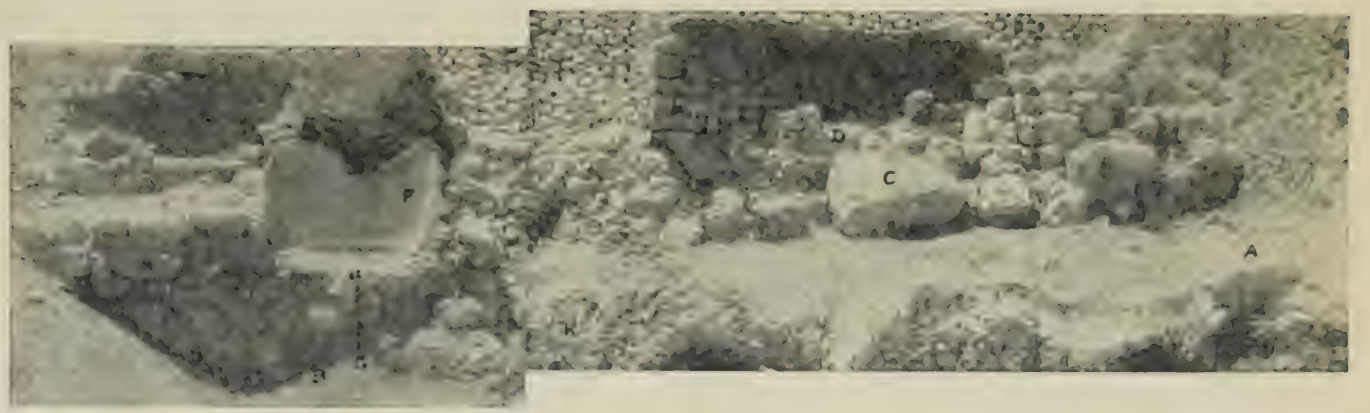
This cistern, therefore, has preserved to us beneath it the three lowest courses of the ancient Jebusite Wall *in situ*, G—G (Plate I). Under the southern edge of the cistern the rock dips for 8 to 10 feet. This dip was built up by the Jebusites, just as we see similar defects in the rock filled in with masonry in the present Walls of Jerusalem (Plate I, H—H). At this point, therefore, we had a good long stretch of the ancient Jebusite Wall *in situ*, and the section that filled the dip in the rock, H—H, is about 12 to 14 feet in height. Unfortunately, in Plate I, the filling in had concealed all but the three or four uppermost courses of this fine example of Jebusite masonry, before it was photographed. It was shown however on another photo in the January *Quarterly Statement.*

The Outer Walls.

Opposite to the Inner or Jebusite Wall, parallel to it and about 27 feet out, runs the Outer Wall with the later Outer Wall assigned to the Greek period on the top of it (Plate II, P—P). Before filling in I spent a few days in getting down to the lowest foundations of this older outer wall. We have spoken of it as the " Hezekiah " Outer Wall. There is no doubt that it is an outer wall of the period of the Kings. It may be even earlier than Hezekiah. It is sufficient to say that it must belong to the period of the Kings.

Opposite to the mouth of the Great Cave I had already exposed this " Hezekiah " Wall down to 23 feet below the surface. Fourteen of these twenty-three feet were masonry. The upper 9 feet is accumulated debris. I have now continued down to 30 feet or more and have exposed about 7 to 8 feet of the foundation of this wall, finding, as I expected, that it rests on debris.

Palestine Exploration Fund.



Panoramic view of the Inner or Jebusite Wall.

[*To face p.* 136.

Remains of the Jebusite Wall.

The stratification between the walls contains a complete mixture of pottery from about 8 feet below the present surface down to at least 20 feet.

At 23 to 26 feet I found nothing but Canaanite and Early Hebrew potsherds. Spouts of Canaanite lamps, complete ring-base lamps of the Early Hebrew period, Red pebble-ring-burnished ware of the same period, plain red of the Early Hebrew period, Canaanite finely burnished red fragments, are some of the specimens found. There were two or three fragments of the Maccabaean period; but these cannot be regarded as safe evidence, as I am sure they came from the north bank of the Pit, which was a veritable dump for Rhodian Jar-handles at 15 feet depth. The men made solitary pilgrimages to this boundary whenever they wanted to earn bakshish.

At 26 feet however they turned out a complete mixture of potsherds and inscribed handles and lamps of the Maccabaean and Seleucid times, and of Hebrew Post-exilic of the Persian period (5th century B.C.).

At 30 feet down they turned out Early Hebrew Red burnished jugs, red ring-burnished basin fragments, Jebusite handles and slabs, Hebrew heavy base lamps, and Early Canaanite burnished ware. One fragment of interest is part of a large, somewhat over life-size hand from a statue in green marble. Several references, therefore, seem obvious.

1. The space between the two walls was clear in Maccabaean times down to a depth of somewhere over 23 feet beneath the present surface level of occupation. This means that the cave mouth was also open and the cave in use at that date (160 B.C.).

2. The Maccabaeans swept out the city and filled up the space between the Walls from 23 feet down or thereby up to within 10 feet of the present surface. We find Maccabaean pottery of indisputable date at 23 feet down and we find the Maccabaean stratum again at 8 to 10 feet down. The intervening space between 23 and 10 feet is filled up with a mixture of Early Canaanite, Early Hebrew and Post-exilic Hebrew pottery.

3. At 30 feet depth we find the deposit of debris and pottery which began to accumulate after this Outer Wall was built. As this pottery is all Canaanite and Early Hebrew, it seems an unavoidable inference that this outer wall was built in pre-exilic times either by Hezekiah or Manasseh, or some other of the Kings of Judah.

The Outer Face of the Hezekiah Wall.

As I have never been able to expose the outer face of the "Hezekiah" Wall in Field 9A, lest I should undermine the Greek Wall above it, before filling in I put the men on to the work of exposing the North end of it in Field 9. They have gone down to a depth of 18 to 20 feet but no trace of the built outer face is visible. The stones have all been removed for building purposes at a time when this face of the wall was very close to the foot-path. The filling, however, shows that this Hezekiah Wall was of the nature of an earth-filled rampart with double stone-built face. The filling consists mainly of earth and stones. A very small quantity of pottery was found; but as we have not sufficient guarantee as to where the filling of the wall ceased and later accumulation of debris began, no safe inference can be based on it.

Such pottery as we found is, I think, to be associated rather with the building of the later "Greek" wall.

In Field 7, however, the outer face of the wall is complete. The upper courses of masonry have been pressed out by the weight of accumulated debris above them; but otherwise the face is perfect.

We are meantime engaged in clearing away the sloping debris accumulated on the face of it from the Tower southwards so that the National Monement may be completely exposed.

The stratification here is not so interesting as it promised to be. There is an enormous accumulation of potsherds, but they are practically all Maccabaean and late Hebrew pottery of the Persian period (5th century B.C.). We never got below the Maccabaean until we have reached over 30 feet perpendicular depth down the face of the Tower.

This Outer Face of the Hezekiah Wall which we are now clearing is the part which joins on to the Great Tower and stands in front of the south step glacis. As I said before it runs flush with the face of the Tower.

Apparently there has been a great clearance of the City thrown over the top at this point, the main ingredients of which are this late Hebrew pottery and Maccabaean.

I have now come to the conclusion that there was a very definite reason for the building of this outer wall. It was built to strengthen an assailable point, and it naturally had to be continued and joined

on to the Tower. The inner wall seems to have been quite unassailable from the north step bastion down to the south step bastion. From the mouth of the Great Cave, however, and southwards throughout the length of Field 9 the inner wall seems to have been very much more difficult to hold, and much more assailable. In fact, there is positive proof that this had been a favourite point of attack. Thus we find a Davidic repair of over 20 feet in Field 9, Pit C, and a Solomonic repair of 15 to 16 feet in Field 9, Pit A.

This seems to indicate that it was at this point that David himself gained admission to the lower city.

If Josephus is right in saying that David easily gained entrance to the lower city, but was unable to take the Akra, then it may be that this great tower marks the southern corner of the Akra ; and that a wall ran westwards from the Tower, which served as the southern wall of the citadel and the northern wall of the lower city as well. I have all along felt that this was so, and that the present footpath running east and west between Fields 5 and 7 may mark the line of this southern wall of the citadel. This southern wall would have consisted of an outer and an inner face of built stones with a mass of earth and stone filling between. As a matter of fact in Field 7 during Dr. Macalister's time here we did find a wall, the use and purpose of which we could not explain. It was of a nature such as we should expect for the outer face of such a rampart, and it ran straight from the Great Tower almost due west or a little to south-west towards the Tyropoeon Valley.

Nothing of very striking importance has been found either in digging for the foundation of the " Hezekiah " Wall on its inner face in Field 9, or in exposing its outer face in Fields 7 and 9.

A number of four-lettered Hebrew inscribed handles (יהבע and יחבט) ; and a good number of Inscribed Rhodian jar-handles are amongst the most interesting finds. Some of the Rhodian handles bear abbreviated inscriptions on a very small neat stamp, which seem to be new. These are like those described by Reisner as " Monogram stamps " (*Samaria*, I, p. 315), though the letters are new. He found some as " Sub-stamps " attached to Rose-stamps, and others he found them unattached. I have not observed any instances in Dr. Macalister's collection from Gezer.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY FROM ROME TO JERUSALEM.[1]

(1) Being about to set out from the city of Rome towards Venice they pass through certain cities, to wit, Nernes, Ternes, Spoleto, St. Severinus and Chesar and see snowy mountains where there is the native land of St. Benedict the Abbot. And from there to the city of Ravenna which is near Our Lady of Loreto, 3 or 4 miles, where there is the angelic chamber in which the Blessed Mary the mother of God was born and brought up in Nazareth, in which was made the annunciation of the divine word . . . . .

The chamber which is of very old brick with carvings was brought [to these] regions in order that it might be most plainly proved in the said Church. Therefore the angels brought this chamber complete, namely, 4 room walls and a roof, leaving behind the foundations in the said city of Nazareth in Galilee where even to day they are visible. There is an inscription in that place indicating that the said chamber was transported thither. In the chamber there is an altar with an image of the Blessed Virgin which people say was made by St. Luke. The said chamber which is surrounded outside with marble stones and beautiful images is in the middle of the Church in which there are Canons and many other Priests. And there is a fortress with soldiers because it is near to the Adriatic Sea.

From there they came to Ancona where there is also a fortress. In the larger Church at that place there is the body of St. Quiriacus held with great veneration. Also there are many Turkish, Jewish and Greek merchants, and the Greeks have their own Church in which the Priests of the Greeks celebrate with fermented bread.

[1] The following narrative is a translation (by Mr. H. L. Pink, of the University Library, Cambridge) of a Latin MS. from Mr. H. C. Luke, B.Litt., M.A., former Assistant-Governor of Jerusalem, containing a narrative of a journey to Jerusalem by some Franciscan pilgrim of the XVIth century. The translation adheres to the Latin as far as possible. Dots [. . .] indicate that there is a lacuna in the MS.; square brackets [ ] that a word is illegible; and a line [——] that the scribe has left a blank.

It is 125 miles from Rome to Ancona, and Ancona is 15 miles distant from Our Lady of Loreto. At Venice on Ascension Day a great feast is kept, and a fair is held, and the treasure of St. Mark is exhibited. Moreover the Duke of Venice with the whole government and the Princes' Orators goes out for the betrothal, at which in every year he produces a ring, and on such a day there is a plenary indulgence in the larger Church of St. Mark, and on such a day the Duke's palace and all others are open in order that all may see. Venice is a large city, 7 or 8 miles in circumference, all in the sea, and for cleansing the waterways the government spends one hundred thousand ducats. The city is 5 miles distant from terra firma. The people have water from wells, but more useful from cisterns, of which there is great plenty. In the Church of St. Mark there is an altar of gold and silver, with various images of Saints and in the middle is St. Mark. And the whole altar is embellished with various precious stones of great value. It is said that this altar was brought from the Temple of St. Sophia at Constantinople which was subject to the Venetians. From Rome to Venice it is 300 miles . . .

[2 lines of MS. gone here.]

(2) The city of Padua in which there is the body of St. Anthony of Padua is 25 miles from Venice. It was founded by Antenor the Trojan in which there is the tomb of Antenor, and a figure of Titus Livius in the great palace. On the day of Corpus Christi there is a great procession at Venice and each foreigner goes in the procession with a Venetian noble with a burning candle which the government gives to him. The Venetians have *taraçanas* in which they have arms and munitions both for sea and land [*clasis*] and various types of armed men in large numbers, placed in the best order, so that the whole city can be armed at a moment's notice. There are many biremes made, and many to be made, and all things necessary for them, and for the most part always a thousand working men and women and on Saturday everyone receives their pay. Near the *taraçanas* there is the monastery of St. George where there are many bodies of Saints, among which it is said there are the bodies of St. Luke the Evangelist and St. Stephen the proto-martyr.

The monastery of St. Secundus is distant from Venice 7 or 8 miles, where there is the whole body of this martyr. At Venice in a certain beautiful Church which is called St. Zacharias there is the body of St. Zacharias father of St. John the Baptist, whole even to

the feet, and there are many other relics and many other bodies of Saints. There is also in the said city in a certain monastery the body of St. Helen, mother of Constantine. In the Church of St. Roche is the body of the same Saint who lived at Montpellier. There are many monasteries and some towns surrounding Venice. Also in the water there is the Church of St. Marina in which is the whole body of St. Marina, and there is also a certain nail, the length of the palm, which people say was one of those which was first affixed to the Cross. In the Church of St. Paternianus are the relics and bodies of Saints Guardianus and Epimacus and of many other Saints. And there is one of the jaws of St. Paul with some teeth, with other relics. Also in the Church of St. Lucy there is the body of St. Lucy under the larger Altar. In the Church of St. Jeremiah is the whole body of St. Magnus the Bishop, and also the whole arm with the hand of St. Bartholomew the Apostle and also the arm of St. Are. In the Church of St. Fusca are the bones of the same Saint and of other Saints. In the Church of St. Elena which is half a mile distant from Venice are Monks of St. Benedict, and there is the body of St. Helen who found the Cross of the Lord at Jerusalem, where also is the history of how it was brought from Constantinople to Venice in the year 1213. And with the body are many other relics, and there is a fairly large Cross of the wood of the Cross of the Lord. In the Church of St. Job, the monastery of the Franciscan Brethren, is the body of St. Luke the Evangelist, lacking one arm which is said to be in Spain in the city of Valencia and lacks . . . .

There are also other relics. In . . . is the body of the (3) same Saint who was worthy to carry Christ in his arms. There is a marble tablet which was found in his sepulchre at Constantinople, from whence it was brought to Venice by seven upright and devout Venetians in the year 1203, as in its history is there shown. In the same Church is the body of St. Hermolaus the Martyr who was a Roman, and many other relics. And there is a relic of the Virgin's milk and of the blood of Christ.

In the monastery of St. George it is said there is the body of St. Stephen; however it is not shown but there are shown the bodies of Saints Cosmas and Damianus but not whole, the whole body of St. Paul the Martyr, and the body of St. Cosmas the Confessor, and the head and left arm of St. George, two Crosses made from the

Cross of the Lord, a relic of varied colour of the dress of the Virgin, and the head of St. James the Less, with other relics. In the Church of St. Saviour is the whole body of St. Theodore the Martyr. In the Church of St. Lucy the Virgin and Martyr is the whole body of the same Saint. In the Church of the Holy Cross is the body of St. Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria which lacks the head and left hand ; and in that place are nuns. In the Church of St. Nicholas de Lio are monks of the Order of St. Benedict. There is the body of St. Nicholas the Bishop, and of another St. Nicholas nephew of the aforesaid, and of St. Theodosius. In the Church of St. Lawrence where are rich nuns are the bodies of St. Ligerius the Barbarian and St. Paul the Bishop and Martyr. In the Church of St. Roche is the whole body of the same Saint beneath the larger altar.

The port of Malamoch is 8 miles distant from Venice. From this port ships are accustomed to set sail for the journey to Jerusalem and first was seen the province of Histria, the land of the Venetians and the King of Hungary, in which there are sea ports which were seen, first Parenso, then Rovino and lastly Campospole, where Histria ends. Afterwards follows the bay of the Adriatic Sea, called *el Golfo del Camero*, going by land towards Hungary almost 200 miles. The breadth of which at the mouth is about 30 miles or more. After this bay follows the province called Sclavonia. This Adriatic Sea is a canal going as far as Venice from the Mediterranean Sea, being 700 miles in length from its mouth which begins at the Island of Corfu which is almost opposite Apulia, and in breadth approximately 100 miles. It is called the Adriatic Sea from the city of Adria which is 30 miles distant from Venice. This sea on the one part has Italy as far as Apulia and Calabria, on the other towards the north. It has many provinces to wit Finil, Histria, Sclavonia, Dalmatia, where there is the great city of Ragusa, whence the Ragucians. Afterwards follows Albania. From there we arrived at the port of Budua which is on the boundary of Dalmatia and Albania ; but before Budua there is a town . . . on an island . . . (4) and in the mouth of Catarum, 8 miles, is a new castle. Cataro belongs to the Venetians on the main land distant from Budua 12 miles by land, but by sea 30. And before Cataro is the city of Ragusa which stands by itself, whence the Ragucians who give tribute to Turkey and the Venetians. After Budua follows Dulciano in Albania, next Duraco, then La Velona which belongs to Turkey

and from Bellona to another part of the sea in Apulia it is 60 or 70 miles. Opposite to La Vellona in Apulia is Otronto. From Budua to la Bellona it is 150 miles. From Bellona to Corfu 100. Between Bellona and Corfu is the mouth of the Adriatic Sea. After Corfu follows the Island of Sclavonia, then for 30 miles follows the Island of Zante. From the Island of Corfu to Zante it is 300 miles. After Zante follows Modon and Coiron [?] on the continent where is half the journey from Venice to the Island of Cyprus. For from Venice to Corfu it is 700 miles and from Corfu to Zante 300 miles and so it is 1,000 miles thence to Cyprus. It is another 1,000 for from Zante to Crete or Candia it is 500 and the same from Candia to Cyprus. The Island of Crete is fairly long from west to east almost 300 or 250 miles. It is 600 miles in circumference and to almost this measure is the Island of Cyprus. All these islands are subject to the Venetians and their inhabitants are Greeks as far as Illiricum or Sclavonia. Candia is so named from the city Candia situate in it. From the boundary of this island as far as Cyprus it is 430 miles. Between Candia and Rhodes we saw two large islands called Carpato and El Caso. These two islands belong to the Turks. The Christians inhabit Rhodes. It is more towards the main land. After Rhodes Calcilidoma is seen. Then we arrived at Cyprus and at the port called Las Salinas which is almost in the centre of the island ; but before there is Paffo which in ancient time was a large city to which St. Paul came with Barnabas when he preached throughout this Island as Acts Chapter 13. Next the town of Episcopia abounding in necessary things ; then at length to the port called Les Salines. The length of this Island of Cyprus is 250 miles somewhat more or less and the breadth more than 60 miles. It is a most fertile island abounding in necessary things. This port of Las Salinas is 150 miles and even more from the beginning of the island Paffo in the beginning of the island 60 miles, from the port of Salines to the end of the island towards the east 70 or 80 miles. From this port of Salines to Barut it is 150 miles. To Tripol of Siria, but to the port of Jaffo (5) where the ships of pilgrims are wont to go, it is almost 300 miles. From this port this island has of elevation of the pole 34 degrees in longitude. Others say that it is 62 degrees in longitude. This island is possessed by the Greeks who have other rites and they seem exceedingly devout. They observe in a year 4 Lenten fasts regularly. The first ours which they call the great but many of them do not consume in it

fish or oil. The second is in August when they fast 15 days. Another is of the Apostles Peter and Paul, for of the other Apostles they make little mention. The fourth is Advent, for from the 14th day of November inclusive they abstain from flesh, eggs, foods made with milk until the Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord which is 40 days. Nor even do they allow little boys to eat flesh, foods made with milk and the 13th of November they make the first of flesh. From the port of Salina 15 miles is a very high mountain in which is a Church called the Holy Cross, where is said to be the right hand of St. Anna the mother of the Virgin Mary. There is also a certain nail of the Lord. It is more than half way towards the peak and if you say that 4 nails were found whereas St. Helen only found three we can say that the cross bearers brought more nails and although they only used three however the Christians hold the others in great reverence. In that place is also a certain cross which is said was made from the two long beams of the cross of each malefactor all of which St. Helen the mother of Constantine is said to have brought. In the said Church dwell Greek monks and Latin clerks. In the Island of Cyprus are many towns but two principal, namely Nicosia and Famagusta, of which each is distant from the port of Salina 25 miles. The island is ruled by a Venetian Governor. In Famagusta which is the seaport are 500 *reguli milites*. Beyond the neighbouring places is a town strongly fortified and indeed for this island the Venetians pay the Turks every year eight thousand ducats. This island is abounding in the necessaries of human life and with the best and much wine, whereof Solomon seems to have said in Cant. i [*v.* 13] "Botrus Cipri dilectus meus." It is a temperate country since it is in the 34th degree from the equinoctial and from the declination of the pole the same. Which island Paul and Barnabas travelled through as Acts 13. In the said island in the city of Nicosia is the head of St. Hilarion in the monastery of St. Francis and the body of St. John de Menfort who was a pilgrim and died in the year 1375. Where on a certain tablet is read this prophecy found in certain old book. Afterwards the body of this Saint was found. A certain simple one said to the other monks of St. Benedict who were not honest enough, that this place will come to total ruin, to which will come certain brethren living an apostolic life, walking in wooden shoes, who will renew this place altogether and it will last until the end of the world (6) and many of them will be martyrs

because in the time of tribulation they will fight against the unfaithful for the defence of the faith. And in that place also is the body of St. Mammas, where is a monastery of the Greeks from which body holy water is distilled useful for various diseases. In the city of Famagusta is a certain earthern water pot which is said to be one of those six in which our Redeemer worked the miracle in Cana of Galilee and as high as a man, it has on the sides two handles, it will take three common tankards. In the larger Church of St. Nicholas is the body of the last king of this island who was called James de Hisignano who died in the year 1473. His wife was called Katharine a Venetian of the house of Cornoro who was left pregnant and gave birth to a son who died after a few days. The Queen lived ten years in Cyprus after the death of her husband and afterwards was taken to Venice. These Venetians succeeded to the kingdom, for the king on account of assistance received from the Venetians against enemies, made the Venetians tutors and guardians of his child about to be born and if it died that they should succeed to the kingdom, which so happened. The Church and prison of St. Katharine is distant from Famagusta 5 miles. It is in old Famagusta which otherwise is called Constantia from King Costa the father of Katharine. Also it was called Salamina from a certain valley in that place near where salt was produced. Concerning which Salamina St. Luke makes mention in the Acts, Chapter 13. This city of Salamina was a fortress and fairly large. It had a certain large reservoir to which through the aqueduct flowed the waters from the mountains, 18 miles. Which aqueduct was made of arches at the bottom of the [ ]. There are in this ancient city many subterranean dwellings where men are always digging and always finding many things and in that place also are found coins of St. Helen the Queen and of the Emperor Constantine and of St. Katharine which are said to be conducive to an evil death. The prison of St. Katharine is strongly fortified. Famagusta is like as a key of the land of the Turks and Asia Minor because it is a granary and place belonging to the Venetians and Christians where the fleets of the Christians can go and from that place having taken again the necessary things go into Turkey, or the Holy Land or Egypt. Cyprus has to the north Asia Minor and Cilicia which is now called Caramania not far distant because that land is seen from this island. To the east it has the Land of Promise or Asia because the land also

is seen from this island on a clear day which is distant from this island 30 leagues. And Jaffa will be distant 60 leagues from the southern part. It has Egypt or Alexandria and Dannata at 100 leagues. And just as Famagusta is the key of the (7) eastern land so Corfu of the whole of Italy; because if Turkey had such an island she would not allow ships or biremes to pass through to the east and from that place would be able to lay waste Apulia and Italy. The Venetians hold these two keys and guard them with all their strength.

Having set out from the port of Salina of the Island of Cyprus we arrived at Tripoli in Syria which is distant from the Island of Cyprus 150 miles. This journey is not accustomed to be made by pilgrims but from Cyprus they take a journey to the port of Jaffa which port is not far distant from Jerusalem, and going out from the port of Tripoli were found asses equipped with pack-saddles which belonged to the Saracens with which in a short time we arrived at the city which is distant from the port a mile, and there was paid for each ass one *maydin* which is a third part of a real [*regalis*]. Which city is distant from Mount Lebanon half a day's journey on which mountain there is scarcely ever anything. This city is exceedingly agreeable abounding in waters, a river, many springs and gardens, fruits and palms, vineyards and olives. All around is verdant and the river from the mountains flows through the centre of the city. In the city besides Moors and Turks are many Hebrews and Christians, Greeks and other nationalities, which is in circumference 4 miles but it has not walls but a castle on the side of the mountain; but forsooth there are not in that place Venetian merchants and Gauls who have consuls as in Aleppo, Constantinople, Alexandria, Alcayre (Cairo). Which consuls have their revenue from the ships and other biremes coming to that district, because they are the judges among the merchants. Such merchants do not have a church in the lands of the Turks but their Latin Priests say the Masses in their private houses, without bells and ringing. The Turks and Saracens permit the Christians to walk freely through the city but not to enter their mosques, and if the Christians enter it is best to choose one of the two, either to deny the faith, or die. There are in this island rams which are scarcely able to carry their tails. In this city is seen to end the Mediterranean Sea, except that towards the north it stretches beyond Tortosa and Antioch *el Golfo della Jacca* or the bay which stretches 150 miles named from

a certain city Hiaça. Afterwards the Mediterranean Sea stretches towards the west by Caramania or Asia Minor, by Greece, Adria, Apulia, Gaul, Spain as far as Cadiz. Moreover with regard to the east and south this sea ends around these shores of Syria, Judea and Egypt and afterwards follows the shores of Africa as far as Cadiz and thus this sea is enclosed within (8) such shores as far as Lake Meotis through the Black Sea and Sea of Marmora. For after Tripoli towards the north first follows Tortosa, 40 miles ; afterwards Marapia, then Zibe, afterwards Laliça, thence for 15 miles the port of Antioch and the mouths of the River Orontes, then Laiaça from it towards Greece are Caramania or Asia Minor, Seleuca, Anemor, otherwise Scandor afterwards the bay of Satalia, next the head of Xeledonia, la Fruica, Stalmira, la Cacana, Castello [? Roio, *or* novo], the bay of Macra, Fisco opposite Rhodes, the Island of Simia near the continent against Rhodes, 30 miles. Cria was a great city and port and afterwards the castle of St. Peter was at Rhodes of the Order of St. John on the continent. The Island of Syo otherwise Chyo is near Turkey in some parts not six miles distant from Turkey and is distant from Greece and Athens 80 miles. It is 150 miles in circumference. In this (island) only is made *el mastich* in great quantity from the lentiscus or meta not from any (tree) but from the selected.

But returning to Tripoli towards the south after Tripoli is Biblus, then Biritus or Barut, 60 miles from Tripoli. Afterwards Sidon otherwise Sacto 25 miles, then Tyre 25 miles otherwise Suro, afterwards Acre or Ptholomaida a day's journey, next Jaffa 3 days' journey, after Jaffa ———[1] and then Dannata in Egypt, next Roset, then Boquer and at Alexandria, afterwards follows the rest of Egypt and the shores of Africa as far as the Strait of Gibraltar.

From Tripoli we arrived at the city of Aleppo and Antioch which is upon the river Orontes, the source of which is from a certain lake called Homs where is a great spring and in a short time was made the great river between Tripoli and Aleppo almost in the middle. On the road is Amana a most ancient city which was exceedingly large—all this province is fairly fertile—in which city are still many inhabitants both Moors and Christians, Armenians, Jacobites, Greeks and Hebrews. And there are Churches belonging to the Christians. This city is situate between certain hillocks placed in

[1] Blank of 1 inch in MS.

the manner of a crown concerning which perhaps Solomon spoke in Cant. Cap. 4 [*v.* 8] saying "Coronaberis de capite Amana de vertice Sanir." On the road were found many towns and in a certain house on the road are crosses made of stone which seem of the Order of St. John whence it is an argument that such lands were possessed by Christians. Aleppo is distant from Tripoli 150 miles. Aleppo by some is called Alip from a certain herb which abounds there which eaten by the cattle makes much milk, or from the abundance of milk. Through this city (9) Abraham is said to have passed when he came from Mesopotamia which is not far distant from Aleppo, which is most bountiful and exceedingly populous where are many merchants and of different nationalities principally Venetians and Gauls. This city is in a plain although it has within itself some small hills, in the middle of which (city) is a large and fortified castle surrounded by a large cavern full of water, and in the place where is the castle, Abraham the Patriarch is said to have dwelt, whom these people venerate much together with other prophets. And in certain ways cooks prepare all eatables of which almost the whole city buys and eats. This city Aleppo is surrounded by a stone wall, which is almost in the centre of Syria or Suria, it has from the east Mesopotamia with Media and Persia; from the north Silicia and Pamphilia and other provinces which are in Asia Minor; to the south it has Damascus, the Holy Land and Egypt; to the west Antioch on the River Orontes where St. Peter [ ] and the Mediterranean Sea.

From Aleppo we went into the city of Antioch in which St. Peter for 7 years had a See and in that place Paul and Barnabas tarried for a long while preaching, in which place the disciples were first called Christians as appears in the Acts, Chapters 11, 12 and 14. That city is distant from Aleppo about two days' journey. On the road between these two towns were seen many towns half destroyed. Near Antioch the river Orontes or Osee flows through, which flows through Amana. All this city of Antioch is half destroyed, although the walls of the city are almost complete. It is 12 miles in circumference, between which are enclosed six mountains, not small, and as their rival there was a large and fortified castle. And in the gates of the city stone crosses are still visible, and to the left of one gate towards the mountain is the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, the room walls still extant. And in it is the spring of St. Peter and

near the gate of the city there is another spring, abundant, clear and sapid, called the spring of St. Paul. In this city (i) were Peter and Paul when they were called to the Galatians. (ii) When Cephas came to Antioch the people of this city resisted him to his face you will find in the first book of Maccabees, (iii) and Acts (ch. 15). In the said city are seen many churches and in the mountains which are within the city. In the rocks are many very deep caverns and small houses in which those early ardent Christians did penance. And in that place also is the church which is called St. John. The sea port is distant from this city 20 miles which was very large, where were seen the remains of a large castle and city and there near the sea are some towns of the Christians, Armenians (10) and Greeks in the mountains, who treat the western Christians going there in a human manner. This city is fertile and has on all sides large and spacious fields. The city of Laodicea of which St. Paul makes mention is distant a day's journey from the port of Antioch towards Tripoli or the south. It is a sea town but now very much destroyed and few dwell in it. Towards the north to another part of the port follows the bay of the sea called *el Golfo della Aiaca* from the city which is there, or Issicus bay from the city of Issus which is also there. Near this city it is said Alexander the Great overcame Darius. Near this bay is the town of Tarsus the native place of St. Paul in Cilicia. Today it is said Tarsus is almost destroyed. And beyond Tarsus towards Constantinople, for the most part all the inhabitants speak the Turkish language, for on this side of Tarsus throughout the whole of Syria, the Holy Land and Egypt the inhabitants speak the Arabic language. Tarsus is distant from Aiaca, 12 days' journey, from Aleppo 6 days. Tarsus from Seleuca 3 days' journey towards the west with respect to Tarsus.

Returning to Tripoli we set out towards Damascus. First at 8 miles appeared the town of Ardet. Next we arrived at a certain monastery, by name Edal, where lives the Bishop of the Maronite Christians, who dwell in the valley of Mount Lebanon, and he was the Bishop of Damascus whom Pope Paul 3rd created, because these give obedience to the Roman Church. And lower in the same valley appeared another monastery called Sancta Maria de Canibin, where lives the Patriarch of these Maronite Christians, in which valley are many Christian Maronites. In the head of this valley are still 20 cedars somewhat more or less. From there passing over Mount

Lebanon which is always stormy in many parts throughout the year, which is very high at the peak, in descent at the foot of the mountain was found the town Apueta, in which dwell Moors and Christians. Then having passed through a certain large valley and forests we arrived at the city of Balech where are most ancient monuments and a castle or royal house. Many say it was built by King Solomon concerning which scripture says "Edificavit sibi Salomon domum in Saltu Libanii." In that place are long and huge stone columns around the house in great number, so thick that three (11) men cannot embrace one.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

In the *American Journal of Philology*, xlvi, 1, the most interesting feature is undoubtedly an article by Dr. A. H. Sayce on the decipherment of the Lydian language. That our veteran scholar should undertake this task is only proper, in view of his valuable work in decipherment, and the fact that his *flair* for problems of this sort is unequalled. The fortunate discovery of a Lydian-Aramaic bilingual at Sardes by the American excavators, the hints hidden away in Hesychius and other ancient writers, and a critical knowledge of the languages and archaeology of Asia Minor, combine to produce in his hands results which, if they are not always conclusive, at least advance our knowledge of Lydian. Dr. Sayce argues that Lydian is very closely related to the Hittite language of Boghazkeui; on the other hand, contrary to what one would expect there is no genetic relationship between it and Etruscan. The article is full of careful argument and illustrative material, and throws much light upon our knowledge of Asia Minor.

The March issue of *Art and Archaeology* is sub-titled "The Prehistoric World." It begins with Les Eyzies, "capital of the prehistoric world" (with splendid photographs), and passes from a discussion of prehistoric flints to a description of "the oldest jewelry in the world" from the same district. Egypt next claims

attention—the temples of Abu Simbel with the wonderful colossi. The ancient basilicas of Carthage and the early Christian ruins of North Africa are briefly surveyed—all in all a most interesting and well-got-up number.

The Philadelphian *Museum Journal*, December, 1924, contains a description by Mr. C. L. Woolley of last season's excavations at Tell el-Obeid. One of the most famous discoveries was the remains of a series of reliefs in copper representing young bulls, &c. The most interesting of these was a fine scene of pastoral life—two men milking cows, seated, as is still the custom with some Mesopotamian tribes, under the cow's tail[1]; in front stand calves, muzzled so that they cannot touch the milk; men are seen straining and storing what is probably clarified butter, others are engaged in other operations, illustrating the dairy work of the old Sumerians. The reliefs belong to the latter part of the Third Millennium B.C., and are part of the decorations of the temple of Nin-Khursag, a goddess who was supposed to have taken part in the work of creation. It is conjectured that the cow was, as elsewhere, a symbol of fertility, and since for a primitive pastoral people cow's milk is a staple diet, it is not surprising that dairy operations should play a prominent part in the religion and, therefore, in the temple decorations. In other words, we have a "dairy-religion," a very ancient prototype of what has been found among the Todas of India and the Baganda natives of Africa.

The March number of the *Bulletin of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art* contains, *inter alia*, a concise survey of the collection of some 450 Oriental seal-stones in the Museum. Here Mr. H. H. von der Osten comments on the importance of these glyptic objects for our knowledge of the cultural and political life of the ancient East, and the way in which they can be said to mirror the external and internal history of the centuries from the early Sumerians to the Sassanians. The old seal-cylinders, the origin of which is unknown, were supplanted about the VIIth century B.C. by the Assyrian cone seals. The old scenes, especially of the Gilgamesh myth, and the fight with the animals, are now conventionalized; and, just as Assyrian mythical ideas replace the earlier Babylonian, and Bel-Marduk overcomes the demon chaos, so, later, in the Persian period, the god Ahuramazda is represented triumphing over the evil

[1] *Cf.*, The milking scene, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1916, p. 140.

power, and when we reach the IIIrd century A.D. the *motifs* are still the same, though the garments are Sassanian. From "Sassanian art the motive came to Byzantium as a textile design; and from there farther into Europe, where we find it sometimes in mediaeval art, together with many other old oriental motives." Hittite influence shows itself in the female figures, the fertility goddess, and the thunderbolt symbol of the god of the thunder-storm. "Characteristic of the Hittites is the manner in which they filled the ground with symbols or ornaments, as also the *guilloche* or interlacing pattern." The sacred tree is also regarded by Mr. von Osten as a Hittite motive.

The *Liverpool Annals of Art and Archaeology*, xi, No. 4, is almost wholly devoted to a further account of the Oxford excavations in Nubia by Prof. Ll. Griffith. Mr. J. P. Droop reviews Mr. H. Frankfort's important study of the early potteries of Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt.

In the April number of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, of special interest, are the articles and reviews dealing directly, or indirectly, with the thorny subject of the identification of ancient geographical names. In these Messrs. Albright, Mayer and Garstang, Sidney Smith and H. R. Hall are involved. A typical issue is the legitimacy of identifying ancient and modern names without sufficient attention to the known or probable development of each name. Apart from identifications which need not be doubted, the fact that, starting from the same evidence, different scholars draw very different maps, is a concrete proof of the extent to which unanimity is at present so frequently impossible. Still, unless identifications were hazarded, and pretty freely, there would be no criticisms and no advance of knowledge; and these articles are a valuable contribution to what one may call the methodology of the subject. The chief fact that emerges is that dogmatism is out of place; all sorts of remarkable changes are known to occur in the history of place-names, but this is no excuse for postulating other remarkable changes unless each step can be justified independently. To most of us it is mystifying to find that such a name as Zaparaššaš must *not* be identified with Ptolemy's Zoparissus (p. 29, v. 5), but that Siyanta should be the same as Xanthus (p. 21). It is very interesting indeed that according to Messrs. Mayer and Garstang (p. 26) old Hittite

names have not infrequently reappeared after the classical period "during which they had been officially submerged"; although experience of Palestinian nomenclature warns one that the modern name does not necessarily represent precisely the same site as the ancient one. But it is still mystifying when the identification Lablani-Lebanon is according to one authority out of the question (p. 22), whereas another (p. 28, n. 5) tolerates it. One general principle stands out, namely, the necessity of discovering some conclusive starting-point, some acid test for the more problematical arguments; though even here there may be an "unlucky start" which will spoil the rest of an argument (*e.g.*, p. 29, n. 5, already referred to), or the starting-point, *e.g.*, the situation of Kizzuwadna (p. 32 sq.), will be keenly disputed.

Here it is apropos to refer to Mr. Herbert Loewe's discussion of the *name* Ophir (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, p. 503), a good example of the way in which the ground can be cleared by preliminary philological research.

In the February *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Dr. Albright gives another of his valuable accounts of trips in Palestine, with a brief summary of the results of his topographical researches. He identifies Sāris with "Mount Seir" of Josh. xv, 10, but suggests that Sōrēs in the Greek text represents another site, Sōbā (*i.e.*, following essentially the Vatican MS.). He notes the strong position of Ṣar'ah, Zorah, associated as it is with that doughty hero Samson: "The ridge of hills upon which Zorah is perched, in a very strong natural position, projects into the plain like a bastion, against which the Philistine onslaughts broke, like waves against a promontory." It was a natural refuge for the Hebrews of the plains when threatened by the sea-coast foe. He rejects the identification of the Valley of Sorek with the Wady Ṣarar, preferring the Wady Surik (as already in the *Ency. Biblica*, col. 4741). It forms the easiest approach from the west, so that the betrayal of Samson by Delilah "was tantamount to the surrender of the whole mountain bastion of Zorah to the Philistines." Khirbet Mukenna', visited for the second time, is identified with the biblical Eltekeh. "The potsherds found this time included numerous fragments of Philistine metopic craters with tilted horizontal loop-handles, just as last spring, and ring-burnished ware of the first and second phases of

the Early Iron Age (*i.e.*, XIIth to VIIth centuries B.C.)." He confirms Father Abel's identification of Khirbet Siḫān, 2½ hours from Gaza, with the Seana of the Mosaic of Madeba; the ruins were found to be covered with Byzantine and early Arabic pottery. Tell el-Ḥesi was visited, for the third time, and Dr. Albright maintains his conviction that the site "is certainly not the important Jewish town of Lachish, but probably represents Eglon, the name of which has survived in the neighbouring Byzantine and early Arab village site of Khirbet 'Aglān." The fine mound above 'Arāḳ el-Menshiyeh is an impressive site which he would propose to identify with Gath; the pottery belongs to the first and second phases of the Early Iron Age, but none was found of the Persian or Hellenistic Age, and he points out that the fact that Gath disappears from history after the eighth century, favours the identification.

To supplement what is said in the *Q.S.*, p. 101 sq., touching the ruins on the south of the Dead Sea, reference should be made to the article in the July issue of *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1924, consisting of a report on the geology of the Dead Sea by Mr. A. E. Day, an article by Father Mallon on the flint implements and megalithic monuments, and another by Messrs. Kyle and Albright on the chief results of the expedition.

Professor Macalister in an address on "the Present and Future of Archaeology in Ireland" (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Jan. 27), does not fail to draw upon his Palestinian experiences. Talking of the "working of the human mind and the strange universal brotherhood of mankind," he observes that he has heard from a gypsy in Jerusalem the very story that has been dictated to another collector in a cottage in Connemara. The fact is worth recording here. There are some motifs which turn up all the world over, and whether or not they have migrated—and generally it is impossible to trace their wanderings—the way in which they are preserved proves how naturally they must have appealed, and what universal human interests and impulses they must have answered. There are more elaborate and more detailed stories which recur in different parts of the world, and such is the identity of detail that it is simplest to suppose that they must have been carried from one to the other, although here again it is difficult if not impossible to point to the circumstances of the journeyings.

Students of folk-lore and religion, and no less those who study the spread and distribution of the data of archaeological anthropology—pottery types and patterns, weapons, games, &c.—are only too well aware of the difficult problems which here confront them. Facile theories of common origins, or of prehistoric migrations have at least the merit of cutting the knots, but more cautious workers will be chiefly anxious to collect and test the more accessible and dependable data and build up their knowledge of what is known Here is a field upon which there is opening enough for *trained* minds. Efforts are being made to make the comparative study of human activities more scientific; rival theories and ethnological schools contend; there are great voluminous works on the methodology of comparative religion, and other comparative studies; and we stand between far-reaching theories of the greatest significance for our knowledge of history and of the ebb and flow of culture, on the one side, and on the other, the patient collection of attested facts, such as the curious identity adduced by Prof. Macalister. The closer the relationship the more natural is it to assume common origin and migration—until a case turns up like the one to which he refers.

Far-reaching questions of the origin of the Semites, the origin of the Amorites, and (as arising out of these) the origin of some portion of biblical lore have been reopened by Prof. Clay's persistent and fascinating studies on the antiquity of the Amorites, and the importance of their land as the centre from which all Semitic civilizations radiated. For some 15 years he has been steadily hammering away at his theories which, if sound, will force a drastic reconsideration of the simpler views which have become familiar. His theories have met with considerable opposition; that they can be accepted as they stand the present writer, for one, would not agree, but they are to be welcomed as proving that certain theories of the Arabian origin of the Semites and of the Babylonian origin of Semitic culture are not to be taken for granted. In the March issue of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Prof. G. A. Barton takes up the challenge, not in any carping spirit of criticism, but pointing out that the problems connected with the history of early civilization are so complicated, the evidence so scattered, and the different fields of research and types of enquiry so multifarious that no worker can expect to be familiar with all that is relevant to his problem, and that clear and thorough-going discussion alone will banish error and bring us to the truth. The questions at issue are

at bottom two: (1) The validity of the evidence for the antiquity and importance of the Amorites, and (2) the necessity of departing from the accustomed view that Arabia is the cradle-land of the Semites. Here I, for my part, am prepared to take an intermediate position. In the first place, we are so apt to be dazzled by the great empires of Babylonia and Assyria, of Hittites and of Egyptians, that we forget the smaller powers, *e.g.*, Urartu (or Armenia) which for some time was so powerful a rival to Assyria. We forget the far-reaching spheres of influence which at one time or another have been associated with Nabataeans and with Palmyrenes, and the evidence for considerable political and cultural entities such as Edom and Damascus. At certain times, at least, there was an important Amorite power, and we know enough of the ancient east to realise that everywhere there was a certain autonomy and individuality, even where, as in the case of Israel and Moab, or Israel and Phoenicia, there was much in common. We must not start, at least, with the assumption that the Amorites were one with the other peoples of the old Semitic lands; for example, as Prof. Barton agrees, among the Amorites we find a type of name which is distinct from that in Babylonia (p. 37). Further, we must avoid the exaggeration of supposing that everything Babylonian came either from pre-Semitic (Sumerian and earlier) natives of the land or from the earliest offshoots from Arabia. Prof. Barton holds that the Amorites were Semites who, *c.* 2800 B.C., began to pour out from the Arabian homeland; a thousand years later the Canaanites began to pour out, and *c.* 1400–1300 they were followed by the Aramaeans. This is part of a very familiar theory of Semitic origins which, largely on the basis of philological evidence, looks for the common ancestry of Hamites and Semites in Arabia or in north-east Africa.

On the other hand, while no one doubts that from time to time Arabia has sent up its surplus population northwards, the linguistic argument is unsafe. The fact that Egyptian and Semitic languages have many important features in common does not prove that they (and therefore Hamites and Semites) sprang from a single stock. At the present day, Amharic presents itself as a strangely mixed language, part Semitic, part African; and it shows us the sort of process that actually can happen when one language comes into contact with another. In contrast to this, it is *theory* which explains Egypto-Semitic parallels as due to a common stock, a theory

which to those who hold it seems best to explain the facts. But the case of Amharic shows that the linguistic features of Egyptian and Semitic do not necessarily demand such a theory. The truth is that when we are dealing with problems of many millennia ago, and our evidence is very variously distributed in space and time, our tendency is to frame hypotheses as simple as possible, whereas whenever we have abundant evidence (as *e.g.* in Amharic, Arabic and African languages) the factors are seen to be extremely complex.

The sort of complicated history that we find in later times would account for what we find as far back as we can reach ; and the more we try to understand the facts in those periods which are known, the less complex and intricate will seem the theories which best explain the fragmentary facts of the distant past. Archaeological data are taking us back beyond our earliest linguistic and historical evidence ; they point us to intercommunication and even to a certain similarity of culture over a very large area, embracing both Egypt and south-west Asia. The language of Egypt—*whatever it was primarily*—could thereby become more Semitic than it had been, or, indeed, Egyptian could be a language, the result of two such widely different parents as is the Amharic of to-day. We have to ask ourselves : What do we suppose was the language and culture of Egypt before even pre-history throws light upon the land ? And what do we conceive the Semitic lands to have been before the Semites made their appearance ? Once we try to visualize the ordinary theories we see how lacking they are in trained historical imagination. In any event, the more we know of these areas throughout their lengthy history the more do we come to perceive that those groups of facts which we are trying to investigate, though they seem to form clear-cut unities, are often the children of many parents, and there is something to be said for the view that we should not speak of "Semites" but only of Semitic languages, and that Babylonians, Phoenicians, Israelites and others, were strangely mixed, both as regards ancestry and culture. That this is so as regards Israel, has been urged by Dr. Salaman in the *Quarterly Statement* itself.

Father Power contributes a useful review of Father Orfali's recent study of the ruins of Capernaum (*Biblica*, March, pp. 106 sqq.), in which he seeks to draw the line between the rival views of Watzinger and Orfali, touching their date. While Orfali is convinced

that the synagogue is substantially that built by the Centurion of the Gospel, Watzinger pleads for a later date, the end of the second or beginning of the third century. Watzinger argues that all the Galilaean synagogues represent a late and debased type of Hellenic architecture; that they belong to the age when, as we know from historical sources, various favours were being received by the Jews; that, in fact, Roman aid and Roman architects account for the many striking similarities between the synagogues and pagan temples and other edifices in the immediate neighbourhood. This will also explain why the synagogue of Capernaum was not built in the highest part of the city, and also why the ornamentation consists of features contrary to Jewish religion. Orfali, on the other hand, thinks that these irregularities point to the age of Herod Antipas when the Galilaean Jews were much less strict than they were later; and whereas Watzinger lays stress on *particular* architectural features (*e.g.*, the Syrian arch resting on twisted Corinthian columns, and other details identical with those in the Trachonitis and Hauran), Orfali has no difficulty in showing that the *general* dispositions are older, but (in Father Power's opinion) does not do justice to the more detailed arguments for later date advanced by Watzinger. The historical evidence clearly suggests that the favour shown to the Jews by Severus and Caracalla (193–217 A.D.) had important results, and Galilaean rabbis were actually condemned by some Talmudic writers for their unpatriotic loyalty to Rome. In fact, the old prophecies about Cyrus and prophecies of the practical interest of foreign nations in the religion and cult of the Jews were, in a sense, receiving a fresh fulfilment. On Watzinger's view the recipients of royal bounty were obliged to tolerate the objectionable elements of the ornamentation, but at an early opportunity they defaced the animals, though not without leaving traces behind, as we see to-day. The arguments, it will be seen, are of great interest, for when Phoenician builders constructed the temple of Solomon, are we to suppose that the numerous features of ornamentation and of temple furniture, which find perfect analogies among the surrounding peoples, were intelligible to the Israelites? From what we learn of the history of the Temple, and of the nature of the religion against which the reforming prophets inveighed, we may suppose that these features were neither unintelligible to, nor repudiated by, the people as a whole. But we have to raise the question, and it is an important one for our ideas of early Judaean religion. And further,

when some centuries later, the Jews enjoyed the favour of the Persian kings, and were able to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, it is easy to imagine that there were qualifying and modifying clauses which would no more be acceptable to the Jews than the irregularities in the synagogue architecture and ornamentation would be to the stricter Galilaean Jews. This point, too, is of importance, because the very conciliatory policy of the Persian kings and their readiness to recognize the religion of the Jews—and no less the religion of other peoples—would mean a tolerance and benevolence too tolerant and too compromising for strictly monotheistic sons of Israel. Another important point well brought out by Father Orfali concerns the orientation of synagogues and the position of the *Tēbhah* or Ark (of the Law). Practically all synagogues have the front entrance facing Jerusalem, and the worshippers faced both it and the Tēbhah; but later, the back of the building faced Jerusalem, and the Tēbhah was placed inside the back wall, corresponding to the position of the Holy of Holies in the Temple, so that once more the worshippers faced both. This change is supposed to be due to the application of the rule of orientation in prayer to public worship, though the date is unknown.

In the same issue of *Biblica* Father Alexis Mallon summarizes the Fund's work at Jerusalem. Summaries are also given of the excavations in Babylonia and Egypt. Also, Prof. Schaumberger begins a discussion of the strange writing found by Sir Flinders Petrie some years ago (in 1904–5) at the mines of Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinaitic peninsula. The characters in question are partly Egyptian and partly unknown, and they are commonly regarded as a link between the familiar Phoenician script (with its Greek offshoot) and the ancestral Egyptian hieroglyphs. A group of four signs read as *ba'alath* (lady or mistress) forms the starting-point of decipherment, but beyond this there is little unanimity. Dr. Cowley has, however, cleverly recognized the name of Tanit, otherwise well known as the goddess of Carthage, and Eisler has conjectured that she represents the Egyptian Hathor. More astonishing, though distinctly precarious, is Grimme's decipherment of one of the inscriptions as the work of Hatshepshut-Moses, chief of the miners . . . And more than this—the fifth line is taken to read: "Thou wast kind, thou hast drawn me out of the Nile . . ." It is only right to say that Prof. Schaumberger views this with caution;

for although there is no *a priori* reason why *a* Moses, or *the* Moses of the Exodus should not have been among the toilers at the mines of the Sinaitic peninsula, the facsimiles of the inscriptions and of this one in particular must be more closely studied before it can be even conjectured that at last an inscription of his has been discovered. The history of epigraphy should warn us to be cautious. It was somewhere about 1850 that the Rev. Charles Forster claimed that the more recent Sinaitic inscriptions—now known to consist of salutations and the like of the first few centuries A.D.—were the work of the Israelities during their wanderings in the wilderness! Along these lines he published a number of extremely topical translations, thus affording food for the jibe (in 1898) that with a brilliant exception the abundant writings in English on Semitic inscriptions were "the" unimportant essays of dilettante Reverend gentlemen (*Reverends*). Bearing this not wholly undeserved criticism in mind, we may prefer to wait until more adequate evidence is accessible. In any event these inscriptions are a most important contribution to the problem of the Phoenician alphabet, though it is disputed whether on archaeological and other grounds they belong to *c.* 1500 B.C. or should be some centuries earlier.

Meanwhile the problem of the alphabet has again come to the front through the happy discovery by the French at Byblus of a Phoenician inscription which is very confidently dated the XIIIth century B.C. M. Montet's eminently successful work at this ancient Phoenician city has brought him the warmest congratulations, so novel and in many respects so far-reaching have been his "finds." But the Phoenician inscription has provided the greatest surprise of all, and it has already been the subject of quite a small literature; we hope to return to it in a later issue.

S. A. Cook.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The site of Shiloh.—While walking last May over Joshua's Battle-field of Gibeon, I noticed about a mile below Beitunia, in the Wady Imyash, some ruins which appeared to be those of an ancient strongly-walled town. The place is now called Beit Silo by the people of Beitunia; and my dragoman, Mr. Moses M. Arbid, of Jerusalem, suggested that this is a more likely place for the ancient Shiloh than the more northerly Seilûn which is now shewn to tourists as Shiloh. I think his suggestion is probably correct, and append reasons.

The first and obvious objection is the fact that in Judg. xxi, 19, we have "Shiloh, which is on the North of Bethel, on the east side of the high-way that goeth up from Bethel to Shechem, and on the south of Lebonah." This has hitherto been taken as marking very accurately the position of the early site of the Tabernacle. But no notice is taken of the fact that this careful description of the site *follows* several mentions of Shiloh, which imply that it was well-known to every Israelite in the days of Joshua and the Judges. Why should it be given at the end of the book?

An illustration will best indicate what I now suggest. If in a modern book we find several references to events at Chesterfield, which is sometimes (but not always) described as Chesterfield in Derbyshire; and if at the *end* of the book we find a mention of "Chesterfield, which is 1½ miles from Lichfield, on the right-hand side of the road from Lichfield to . . . ., and near to the village of . . . ."; we at once conclude that this is a second Chesterfield. I have not seen this Chesterfield since I was a boy, and cannot from memory fill the gaps above. But it certainly did exist, and probably does now.

I suggest then, that the Shiloh of Judg. xxi, 19, is a second, and far less known, Shiloh than the place which was the central meeting-place of the Tribes in the time of Joshua. Further, its original name was probably Shilōn. But, as the original Shiloh was completely destroyed (probably by the Philistines) before the time of Jeremiah (vii, 12, 14; xxvi, 6; xli, 5), its site was gradually

forgotten, and in later days Shilon, which still existed, was thought of as Shiloh.

Positive arguments for the identification of Shiloh with Beit Silo are as follows :— (*a*) The name Silo, instead of Seilūn ; (*b*) Shiloh is mentioned by the writers of Joshua and Judges either without further description, or as being " in the land of Canaan." Now, by the time that Joshua and Judges were written, " the land of Canaan " probably expressed that part of Palestine which was occupied by the remnant of the Canaanites who were allowed to survive, according to the treaty recorded in Joshua ix ; viz., the district round Gibeon (El-Jib), Beeroth (El-Bireh) and Kirjath-Jearim (Kuryet el-Enab). It was a sort of " Indian Reserve."

Further : (*c*) The position at Beit Silo is central for this tribe of Hivite Canaanites, thus constituted the " serfs of the Tabernacle." Seilūn is far from their homes. (*d*) Beit Silo is centrally situated in the area over which Samuel was the Judge, in the days when he held his courts at Bethel, Ramah (er-Ram), Gilgal, Mizpeh (Neby Samwil). (*e*) The position is in a natural amphitheatre, where many thousands could view the sacrificial rites from the hill-sides. (*f*) There are two good springs, from which could be obtained the water necessary for the Services. (*g*) The gate of the city is apparently on the west side, looking down the valley. As Eli sat beside the gate (1 Sam. iv, 13, LXX), watching the way, he could see the runner who came to announce the defeat at Ebenezer, for the last 2 miles (about) of his journey. (*h*) Finally, the position is one of great strength, where the Tabernacle could easily be defended, and is central for all the Twelve Tribes.

On these grounds, then, I would suggest that Shiloh should be sought at the more southerly site of Beit Silo.

Rev. A. T. Richardson.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ	m
ג	g	נ	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	שׁ	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Readers of the Quarterly Statement will be anxious to hear what is the position of the P.E.F. with regard to the excavations at Ophel. Firstly, the present two years' excavation has come to an end and the Rev. Garrow Duncan, who carried on the work after Professor Macalister left, has now returned to Scotland. Secondly, the official result of this successful work is now in the press and will shortly be issued as a special "Annual," 1923-25. Besides this there is a good deal of material in the form of special reports which is at present in bulky MS., but some of which will doubtless be published. In the current number of the *Quarterly Statement* we publish a short article on the Arab coins—in the next number we expect to issue a report on some interesting caves found at Ophel, and there is a good deal in hand regarding the pottery finds which can be consulted at the offices of the Fund. Thirdly, while from the lack of funds the Executive Committee are now obliged for a time to leave the most interesting site, it is their intention, should financial support become available, to recommence as soon as possible—it is to be hoped next year, or at latest, in 1927. The permit given to the P.E.F. to excavate at this site has not been withdrawn, but its continuance will depend upon work being resumed within a reasonable time. Our experience of excavating on Ophel enables us to know much better than we did in 1923 where further work is likely to be fruitful in results. It is unbelievable that there is not much more of unique interest to Bible students within the, as yet, unexplored areas of this wonderful hill. Some may be discouraged by the expense of excavation in these modern days as compared with that

of twenty or more years ago, but that has got to be faced and the future is unlikely to make any favourable change. On the other hand, the political situation is at present most favourable and we are assured of the fullest assistance and support from the Government. We have no guarantee that that will continue. Opportunities lost now may quite probably be lost for ever. The Hill of Ophel is as yet but little built upon, but in ten or twenty years it will very probably be covered with habitations. Meanwhile, we hope that the Members and Subscribers will lose no opportunity for enlarging the numbers of our helpers as well as increasing our annual income.

Among the contents of this issue is a series of statements by Canon Hanauer, the Rev. Garrow Duncan, and by the Honorary Secretary, on the recent discovery of traces of the " Third Wall " of Jerusalem, a brief reference to which was made in our last issue. Mr. Duncan has also sent an article on the curious caves which, at the time of their discovery, were optimistically spoken of as possibly the Tombs of the Kings of Judah ; the article, however, has been crowded out of this number, and will appear in the January issue. The Rev. T. Crouther Gordon writes on some Arab coins from Ophel and Siloam, and Dr. Cowley gives an account of an interesting ancient Jewish tomb-stone found at the south-east end of the Dead Sea. Mr. FitzGerald, former student of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and now returned to take part in the American excavations at Beth-Shan, contributes a helpful criticism of the label " Maccabaean " as applied to certain types of pottery. Mr. Pink's translation of a Franciscan account of a pilgrimage to Rome is continued.

The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem is to be congratulated upon the fine specimen of the skull of Neanderthal man discovered by Mr. F. Turville-Petre in a cave near the Lake of Galilee. An excellent account of this was given by Sir Arthur Keith, with illustrations of the skull itself and of the cave in which it was found, in *The Times* of Friday, August 14 ; and the famous anatomist favoured the anthropological section of the British Association, after Mr. Turville-Petre had described the circumstances of

the discovery, with a full and luminous discussion of its significance. This was widely reported in the Press of September 2. Sir Arthur Keith pointed out that this "Galilaean man" must be at least 20,000 years old, perhaps even 10,000–20,000 years earlier; he was a link between Homo Sapiens and the higher apes, and the size of his brain corresponded in capacity with that of modern man. The discovery is one of extreme importance for our knowledge of prehistoric man, and Sir Arthur expressed envy at the way millionaires supported American exploration, and hoped that the Press would stimulate a similar movement in this country.

Professor R. A. S. Macalister sends us the following curious record which lies hidden in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, series I, vol. 1, p. 235, Report of the meeting of January 20, 1848:—

> Major Charles Ker Macdonald exhibited to the society . . . a collection of antiquities of different kinds, partly found by him during his travels in the desert of Arabia Petraea, Palestine and Egypt. . . . Major Macdonald, among his memoranda, detailed the circumstances attending a permission which he obtained to dig in a garden belonging to a Jew's house in Jerusalem, where, the earth suddenly giving way, he found himself in a subterranean cavern, resembling a cloister, supported by marble columns. Here his Arab workmen deserted him and the entrance was soon choked up by rubbish, so that he was unable to complete an examination thereof.

Inquiry made at Jerusalem has as yet failed to throw any further light upon this interesting little item.

We regret to announce the death, on August 24, of Mr. Michael E. Lange, a member of the General Committee of the Palestine Excavation Fund, of which he was a keen and liberal supporter. Mr. Lange took First-Class Honours in Semitic Languages at Cambridge, and at his home in Gezer devoted himself alike to archaeological studies and agricultural schemes for the amelioration of the lot of the poor. A sympathetic notice of his life is given in *The Jewish Chronicle* of September 11.

The Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund contains many duplicate volumes. They may be had separately, and a list, with the price of each volume, has been prepared, and can be obtained on application.

The list of books received will be found below, p. 169 *sq.*

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Local Secretaries.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the following special contributions :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
George Mathieson, Esq.	20	0	0
Rev. Dr. Charles Knapp	2	2	0
Miss W. Langley	2	2	0

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1910, containing some of the early letters (now scarce), with an Index, 1869–1910, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £12 12*s.* A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W. 1, is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 1 p.m.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from Prof. Elihu Grant, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, Haverford College, Pa.

The Committee have also to acknowledge with thanks the following:

A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine, by G. R. Driver, M.A. (Probsthain, 1925.)

The Near East and India, August 20: Oriental types (*contd.*), by F. W. Chardin; The Druse Revolt, etc.

Annals of Art and Archaeology, xii, 1, 2. Excavations in Crete by Doro Levi, L. P. Droop, etc.; book reviews, etc.

The Expository Times, July.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, July: Climatic influences in some ancient Mediterranean religions, by Ellen C. Semple.

The New Judaea.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, June: Prof. Clay's Rejoinder to Prof. Barton (on the Amorite problem).

Jewish Quarterly Review, July: Fallen angels in Jewish and other literature, by Dr. Leo Jung.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, April.

Art and Archaeology, June: Baltimore as an art centre; July, excavations of Utica, etc.

The Museum Journal (University of Philadelphia), March: The Expedition to Ur, by C. Leonard Woolley; a Great Temple of Babylonia, by the same.

The Homiletic Review.

Revue Biblique, July: The distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus, by A. P. F. M. Abel; Hermetism, by R. P. Lagrange; "Garden Tomb, the history of a myth," by R. P. L. H. Vincent.

Journal Asiatique, January–March.

Biblica, June: The alleged Mosaite inscriptions from Sinai (*cont.*), by J. B. Schaumberger.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, xlviii 1, 2: The 'Ajlūn, by Prof. Stenernagel; the oldest Christian Pilgrims to Palestine, by Prof. Windisch; review of the P.E.F.'s new map of Palestine, by Prof. Dalman.

Die einstige Beschaffenheit d. heiligen Landes, by W. Möller. Lütjenberg, 1925.

Zeitschrift f. d. Alttest-Wissenschaft, ii, 1, 2. Die Aufgabe der Wissenschaft des nachbibl. . . . Judentums, by Prof. Gressmann; notes on the excavations in Samaria, by the same; etc., etc.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, July-August, pp. 418–567; September-October, pp. 570–783: Many valuable and critical reviews, bibliographies.

Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte (Gruyter & Co., Berlin), vol. i, 1924; vol. ii, 1925: Reprints of many full and up-to-date articles in Palestinian archaeology, by Dr. Peter Thomsen.

Bible Lands, July: The Wadi el-kelt.

At Machrik, July: Early intercourse between Syria and Egypt, by the Abbé Armalé; history and monuments of Beirut, by P. L. Cheikho. August; the same continued.

ΝΕΑ ΣΙΩΝ, May: Continuation of Greek translation of Mr. Garrow Duncan's report of the Fund's excavations.

The Committee will be grateful to any subscribers who may be disposed to present to the Fund any of the following books:—

The Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.

The Quarterly Statement, from 1869 up to date.

Duc de Luynes, *Voyage à la Mer Morte* (1864); published about 1874.

K. von Raumer, *Der Zug der Israeliten.* (Leipzig, 1837.)

Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (1887).

New Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, English Translation. Original text edited, formulated and punctuated by Michael L. Rodkinson. Revised and corrected by the Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise. Published by the New Amsterdam Book Company, New York. Vol. I. *Sabbath*, already in the Library, subsequent volumes wanted.

Sir George Arthur, *The Life of Lord Kitchener.*

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge for the same.

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary to a Will by the Law of the United States of America, and Two by the Law of the United Kingdom.*

THE EXCAVATION OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SUPPOSED THIRD WALL OF JERUSALEM.

It is well known that Professor Edward Robinson in his *Biblical Researches* (Vol. I, pp. 314-315) maintained that he had discovered, some distance north of the present Northern Wall of the City, many traces of a city wall which he concluded was Agrippa's "Third Wall." These traces were pointed out to many travellers and residents during the following years. Dr. Merrill, for example (*Quarterly Statement*, 1903, p. 159) states that when he "first visited Jerusalem one of the first things to do was to visit Agrippa's Wall, of which 49 or 50 yards was visible. This was in 1869. Much of the wall had previously been broken up to supply stones for the new Austrian Hospice. Many people now living in Jerusalem remember this wall perfectly well. It is not more than twenty years since the last massive blocks of it that remained above ground to the north-west of the city were broken up." The special occasion of his writing was to point out there was a section of this wall six feet high then uncovered—in the making of a cistern—about "200 to 250 feet from the (C.M.S.) Arabic Church at a point a little north of west."

Whereas that section of the wall has disappeared, some great stones which were supposed to be part of a tower on this wall have survived to the present time. They form one side of a disused cistern and are situated in land which now forms part of the St. George's College playground to the east of a row of Jewish houses (Fig. 1). These remains were partially excavated by Professor Paton in 1904 ("The Third Wall of Jerusalem and Some Excavations on its Supposed Site." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV, 1905, pp. 205–11.) The excavations were not very conclusive. However, in March, 1925, the Rev. Garrow Duncan sent us a photograph of a large stone 11 feet long, 4 feet broad and 3 feet 7 inches high which had just been unearthed a few yards west of this cistern group of stone, at the angle formed by the branching off of Coeur de Lion Street from the Nablus road (Fig. 2). This stone fell in the line traced by Robinson and in a line drawn from the fragments described by Merrill and Paton respectively. On the day of our last Annual Meeting a somewhat sensational

paragraph appeared in *The Times* to the effect that the "Third Wall" of Jerusalem had been discovered. Our old and valued supporter, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, referred to this discovery at the meeting, and our Hon. Secretary, who had only recently seen this newly-found stone in Jerusalem and had heard rumours of other fragments having been found, suggested that the discovery was not the result of "serious excavations." We are glad to say that this first impression is incorrect,

Fig. 1.—Section of the Supposed Third Wall.

for extensive excavations have now been made by Dr. Mayer, of the Government Department of Antiquities, and Mr. E. L. Sukenik, of the Jewish Exploration Society. We hasten to record that this work has been most successful and a long stretch of ancient city-wall foundations has now been uncovered, fully verifying Professor Robinson's surmises. The ground in which the excavations have been conducted was before the war occupied for many years by an olive grove and a cornfield. A gipsy encampment was also frequently to be seen there. The political situation, as well as the presence of the olive-trees, made it extremely difficult to undertake any diggings

there. The disappearance of the olive-trees during the war, the entirely changed political situation, and the fact that the land is now in any case to be broken up for building sites, all make the excavation not only possible but imperative.

Messrs. Mayer and Sukenik are to be congratulated upon their good fortune on having struck upon a site of so much historical and archæological interest. The latest news is that they have found a

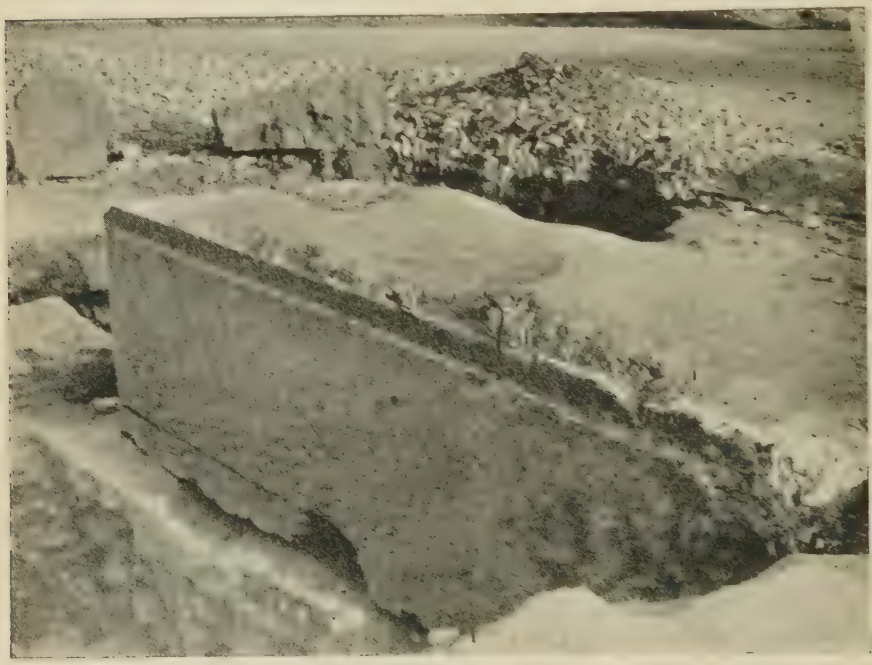


Fig. 2.—Large Drafted Block of the Wall.

"second century Roman inscription recording the burial of soldiers whose names are given." (*The Times*, August 29th, 1925.)

Meanwhile, through their courtesy, we are able to produce here notes sent to us by two of our representatives in Jerusalem, together with some views which they have been allowed to send. Of the two articles below, that of the Rev. Canon Hanauer, which arrived first, deals mainly with the archaeological facts, that of the Rev. Garrow Duncan also with the important inferences which may be drawn from the facts.

THE REV. CANON HANAUER.

About a fortnight ago, and on the day after the arrival of the *Quarterly Statement* for July, I sent a short note and also a rough tracing in order to show the position of the recently discovered remains

Fig. 3.—View of Part of the Supposed Third Wall.

of the Third Wall. I revisited the place yesterday and was again received with all courtesy and conducted over the works. They consist of a line of parallel and transverse trenches over 200 metres

in length, and now extending not only over the space shown on the tracing in your hands, but also eastwards beyond the great stones close to the row of Jewish houses. The northern and southern sides of the great wall have been exposed. Its average thickness is 4½ metres, equal to almost 15 feet, according to my metallic tape. The stones are large and of the same character as the one uncovered earlier this year. Their size and dressing resemble that of the Herodian courses visible at the Wailing Place. The trenches vary in depth from one to ten feet. The wall had towers projecting from its northern face. The rock-foundation of a skew-one at the western end of the excavations has been laid quite bare and is unmistakable. The lower course of the wall has at different periods been utilized as a foundation for edifices of later date, such as a Byzantine mortuary, chapels and Arab houses. Of the former, mosaic pavements (*see* Fig. 3), one of which had a memorial inscription in Greek with the name of Anatolia, have been laid bare (*see* Fig. 6); and of the latter, flagged floors and the remains of cisterns built against the wall in the same way as that marked F on Plate I of the last *Quarterly Statement*. The great stones on the northern side of the open cistern in the St. George's playground, as above-mentioned, have also been bared on their northern and western sides. They prove to be a part of the great wall, and *not* "*rock*" as was supposed by former explorers. The trenches are, as I have already mentioned, being extended further east. I have great pleasure in enclosing three photographs courteously placed at my disposal by the Directors of the excavation—Dr. Mayer and Mr. Sukenik—in order to illustrate my letter.

JERUSALEM. *August* 19*th*, 1925.

THE REV. GARROW DUNCAN, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Scot.).

The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society have for some time back been uncovering the foundation of a wall across the empty space in front of the Museum. Over six months ago a huge drafted block (Fig. 2), measuring 11 feet long, 4 feet broad and 3 feet 7 inches high, was uncovered at the junction of the Museum Road[1] with Nablus Road opposite to the pottery. Behind the pottery in St. George's School playground another section of the wall of the same enormous

[1] Marked in the new map as "Coeur de Lion Street."

blocks and similarly drafted has for long been exposed to view (Fig. 1). This latter section has been used as the wall of an Arab cistern and is in line with the first. These two sections belong to the same wall. Straight down at the south end of the playground I found what seems to be another portion of this same wall.

It is not really a new discovery. One Englishman, who has been resident here for forty years or over, tells me that when he

Fig. 4.—View of Part of the Supposed Third Wall.

came here the line of this wall could be traced from St. George's playground to where the Italian Hospital now stands, while another section was found in the foundation, and forms part of the cistern of Christ Church Vicarage. It is also freely asserted that many of the great blocks then visible on the surface were taken away, broken up, and built into the Austrian Hospice. I am informed also that in the excavation of a foundation for a house a section of this wall was uncovered at a comparatively recent date.

This empty space, west of the Museum, where the new excavations are, is now marked off for streets and houses. In fact, building

operations are begun. This fact and the desire to definitely fix the line of this wall as far as possible has, I imagine, led the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society to conduct an immediate investigation before the foundation remains should be built over and lost sight of for good.

Up to the present they have traced the line of this wall from the edge of the Museum Road to about two-thirds the length of the

Fig. 5.—Kitchen Floor on top of Wall.

open space. It now turns out that the great block at the junction of the Nablus Road and Museum Road (Fig. 2) is part of a tower which stood there.

Just west of this point the excavators have uncovered the foundation of remains of a late Byzantine or early Arab house. The kitchen floor of stone slabs and the Mosaic floors of two rooms are visible, only a foot or two under the present surface (Figs. 5 and 6). The floor is laid on the very surface of the wall ; and outside of the wall there is a small plastered drain about 12 inches wide by 5 or 6 inches deep,

which had been used to run the roof water into a cistern near by. It is too small for a sewage drain. This drain is quite near the present surface and the plaster seems to be late Byzantine or early Arab.

All over its length this wall had been freely used by Arab builders to serve as one side of their cisterns. I have seen four or five of these cisterns, some inside and some outside of the wall, and all of them seem to me to be Arab work.

Fig. 6.—Mosaic Pavement.

The fact that this Byzantine or Arab house is built on the top of the wall suggests that the wall had disappeared to its foundation by A.D. 600—800, although it is quite possible that the builders of this house broke down what was left of the wall and used the blocks in building their house. Apart from this house, nothing much of interest, except cisterns, has been found in the operations, so far as I have seen. Altogether the excavators have uncovered about 200 to 220 yards. Within this space they have found three towers. The space covered by these three towers is 180 yards. Josephus says there were 90 towers on the wall of Agrippa, with a space of 200 cubits between each tower.

The account given by Josephus (*War of the Jews*, Book V, Ch. IV, §2 and 3) is as follows :—

"The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus
" whence it reached as far as the north corner of the city and
" the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came
" over against the monument of Helena, which Helena was Queen
" of Adiabene, the daughter of Izates ; it then extended further
" to a great length and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the
" Kings and bent again at the tower of the corner, at the monu-
" ment which is called the ' Monument of the Fuller,' and joined
" to the old wall at the valley called the ' Valley of the Cedron.'
" It was Agrippa who encompassed the parts added and the
" old city with this wall which had been all naked before . . . .
" Since, therefore, its inhabitants stood in need of a covering
" the father of the present king and of the same name with him,
" Agrippa, began that wall we spoke of ; but he left off building
" it when he had only laid the foundation, out of fear he was in
" of Claudius Cæsar, lest he should suspect that so strong a wall
" was built in order to make some innovation in public affairs . .
" . . . . its parts were connected together by stones twenty
" cubits long and ten cubits broad . . . The wall was, however,
" ten cubits wide, and it would probably have had a height
" greater than that, had not his zeal who began it been hindered
" from exerting itself. After this it was erected with great
" diligence by the Jews as high as twenty cubits, above which
" it had battlements of two cubits and turrets of three cubits
" altitude . . . . . Now the towers that were upon it were
" twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height ; they
" were square and solid as was the wall itself, wherein the nice-
" ness of the joints and the beauty of the stones was in no way
" inferior to those of the holy house itself . . . Of these towers
" then, the third wall had ninety and the spaces between them
" were two hundred cubits . . . . . The whole compass of
" the city was thirty-three ~~cubits~~."

These are the main facts as given by Josephus having bearing on this wall. He definitely states also that Agrippa merely laid the foundations and desisted from fear of Claudius, and that the Jews afterwards finished the wall.

As to the width, the wall as uncovered is exactly 14 feet 3 inches broad (10 *cubits*) where I measured it. The stones are very massive, but Josephus' measurements of the individual blocks (20 *cubits by* 10) will not suit any of the blocks which I have seen or measured. It is possible his measurements refer to the largest block he saw. Further, he gives the distance between the towers as 200 cubits, which would be 100 yards, if the cubit is taken as 18 inches. This is difficult to reconcile with 33 stadia as the length of the wall of the whole city if these are equivalent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

If the latter equivalent is correct, the cubit of Josephus cannot be quite 18 inches. If this is correct, his measurements of the blocks used in the wall may not then be very far out. I measured one tower and found it projected exactly 29 feet 6 inches from the wall. The length of its face is not uncovered. My measurements of the length of the wall excavated were taken with a tape.

The points to be decided by excavation (if possible) are :—

1. The exact line of the wall from the Italian Hospital towards the Jaffa Gate.
2. The position of the tower Psephinus.
3. The exact line of the wall from the south-east end of the excavations toward the present city walls, and
4. Where this wall joined the second wall.

Josephus says it joined "the old wall at the valley of the Cedron." Previously he said the old wall "ended at the west cloister at the Temple." These facts and statements show how much there is to elucidate and to establish ; and we can only hope that the excavators will be able to carry on till they have settled all these points.

So far we may summarise the results as follows :—

1. This is unquestionably a city wall which is being uncovered.
2. The masonry is undoubtedly Herodian.
3. As we know that Herod Agrippa built a third wall to enclose a northern suburb, this wall cannot be anything but the Third Wall of Agrippa which was interrupted in its erection by Claudius, and 30 years later was hurriedly finished by the Jews, and was finally destroyed by Titus.
4. The wall uncovered runs on a line a little to the south-west of the Italian Hospital at its northern end and a little to the south-west of the English Cathedral at the southern extremity of the excavations.

5. The breadth and massiveness of structure corresponds with Josephus' statements.
6. The towers and the distance between them seem also to correspond with Josephus. The towers seem to be 30 feet (20 *cubits*) square.
7. The wall seems to be making straight for the north-east corner of the present city wall or somewhere near to it.

With regard to the bearing of this wall upon the line of the *Second Wall*, the problem seems to me to be as it was before. The definite fixing of the line of this Third Wall, and the proving that it is the Third Wall of Agrippa does not necessarily fix the line of the present wall as being the line of the Second Wall of Christ's time. It may afford a presumption that the Second Wall ran on its present line in Christ's time as far as the Damascus Gate. Even that cannot be definitely asserted.

The problem of the place of Crucifixion and the position of the Holy Sepulchre, therefore, is not much, if in any way, affected by the admission that this is the Third Wall of Agrippa, which is now being uncovered. Nothing definite can be known of the line of the Second Wall of Christ's time except by excavation. At present the most we can reach is a presumption that it ran on one line, or that it ran on another, including or excluding the Holy Sepulchre according to the opinions and predilections of critics.

The excavation work is being superintended by Mr. L. B. Mayer, Ph.D., for the Museum, and Mr. E. L. Sukenik for the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, who have kindly permitted me to take photographs and to record my observations.

SOME ARAB COINS FROM OPHEL AND SILOAM.

By Rev. T. Crouther Gordon, D.F.C., B.D.

It was to be expected that in a site like Ophel, which already has given evidence of much national and international intercourse, the finds in coins would be considerable. Nor is this expectation disappointed, for many hundreds of coins have come in, gathered not only from Ophel itself but also from the region of Siloam. Indeed it has been one disadvantage of the finding of these many specimens that we cannot be sure whether a particular coin has come from the one part or the other, since the workmen came from all parts with them. In addition to this, it is well known that after the heavy rains many of the natives go out into the valley and their quick eyes can detect the coins thus exposed. Such coins, if considered of sufficient interest, would naturally be purchased, and so the collection assumed large and heterogeneous proportions. It was likewise impossible to allocate each coin to its stratum, but this was no disadvantage —at least in most cases—as it would have been in layers with earlier material, since the coins, if of value at all, can be dated approximately.

Over and above these primary conditions, there is the state of the coins to be considered. They are all thickly encrusted with lime, and though this might be a preservative for them while in the ground, it needed considerable time and work to remove the earth from even a few. Consequently not many of the numerous specimens have been thoroughly cleaned and prepared for examination. It will be some time before the evidence of the entire collection can be available. Over and above this, we have to admit that so far, of those coins examined, of the Arabic coins none of surpassing interest has come to light, and the general type has been badly handled. In fact there is no complete coin. Each is clipped severely or flattened or worn almost beyond recognition. The marginal writing in each case has suffered worst of all.

So far as the Arabic coins are concerned, they seem to range from the period of the 'Omayyid dynasty to that of the Burji Memluks, that is, roughly, eight centuries.

Coin No. 1. This is a small copper coin of about 6 grains weight and the size of a threepenny piece. There is still haziness in some of the letters, and if there was any writing on the margin it has been clipped away. There is a ring round the inscriptions, both obverse and reverse, and on the whole it is well-preserved. On the obverse side is the formula :—

لا اله
الا الله
وحده

and on the reverse side is the completion of the formula of the faith.

محمد
رسول
الله

"There is no God but God, He alone, Mohammed the Messenger of God."

The peculiar points about this coin are that no dates, mints, or kings are mentioned, all of which are required to give a coin value and authenticity. But then no room is allowed for these details on the coins, and from Stanley Lane Poole's *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, Vol. I, page 173 and Plate VIII, it appears beyond much question to belong to the 'Omayyid dynasty.

Coin No. 2. This is an unusually thin copper coin, clipped badly on the top left-hand and bottom right-hand, thus giving an oval shape. The characters are exceptionally well preserved, considering the thinness of the coin. Between the edge and the writing there is a circle right round, ornamented with four smaller circles connecting it with the edge. On the obverse is the legend :—

لا اله الا
الله وحد(ه)
لا شريك له

and on the reverse side :—

محمد
رسول
الله
يزيد

"There is no God except God, He alone, He has no partner.

Mohammed, the Messenger of God, may he increase."

Above محمد and beneath the circle of the margin on the reverse side there is a star. In the margin on the obverse side there does not appear to be any inscription, but on the reverse side, بالعباسيه سنه سبع(ين) occurs. This is the characteristic coin of the Abbassid Caliphs from the Samarkand mint, and dates about 170 A.H. (Stanley Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, Vol. I, p. 73). While it is, of course, not surprising to find such a coin in Jerusalem, it is a significant comment on the intercourse of the parts of the Caliphate in the second century of the Hegira.

Coin No. 3. This is a much larger copper coin, slighter, larger and heavier than the British halfpenny. The margin is uneven, having been clipped on the bottom right-hand. It boasts of some ornamentation, having four stars on either side, the two top ones divided by the design ψ and the two bottom ones likewise. The margin is formed by two dotted circles, one smaller than the other. The obverse side has :—

الملك العادل

in the centre and what might be taken for بدمسق in the margin (Stanley Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, Vol. IV, p. 102), and reverse has :—

محمد ابو بكر

while in the margin is inscribed سلطان م.ص(ر)

There is no date discernible on the coin, but it must belong to about 600 A.H. Abu-l-Feda says (*see* Ameer Ali's *Short History of the Saracens*, p. 376) that this sultan's coins bore his seal, but this one shows no trace of it and Lane Poole's collection does not bear it out. This El-'Adil was, of course, the brother of Saladin, and equalled him in foresight and prudence, becoming not only the patron of the arts—this coin is unusually ornamental—but the supreme ruler of Syria and Egypt.

Coin No. 4 is of copper, the size and thickness of a halfpenny. It has been curiously pressed, so that the obverse is concave, and the reverse is convex, nor does this appear to have been done while in the ground, but on the contrary whilst it was in use. In two places the coin has been quite obviously and definitely clipped.

There is some effort at ornamentation, the inscription being inside the design on both sides. On the obverse appears :—

الملك
الظاهر

with obscure letters in the top margin, possibly سنة ث, whilst the reverse very vaguely shews :—

لا اله
الا الله

some heavy object having first flattened this part of the coin and then dented it. A few letters on the margin of the reverse might easily be read بدمسق but it is not certain. It is clear, at any rate, that this belongs to the Baybars dynasty at the end of the 13th century.

The 5th coin is a copper one of about 7 grains weight with no margin distinguishable, perhaps because most of the edge has been flattened by a percussion of some kind. The writing, untouched by the percussion, is very plain. The obverse reads as follows :—

(الله)
وما الذ(صر الامن عند)
لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
(بالهدى ودين
الحق)

The reverse has :—

(بد)مسق
سنة
السلطان الملك الناصر
الدنيا والدين محمد
(بن) الملك المنصور
قلاون

No date can be distinguished at all, but it obviously belongs to the dynasty of the Bahri Memluks, and to En-Nasir Nasir-ed-Din Mohammed, about 730 A.H. (*See* S. L. Poole, Vol. IV, p. 150.)

Coin No. 6 is a pierced copper coin, the size of a halfpenny, which has suffered in its characters through the piercing. It is of fairly rough manufacture, with little pretension to art. There is a design round the centre inscriptions on both sides, thus—

The obverse reads :—

الملك الصالح
ابن محمد

with a row of pellets between the two lines. The reading in the top margin, if any, is completely obscured.

On the reverse side appears :—

(ضرب) (بدمـ)سق
في سنة ثلاث واربع(ين)
وسبعمابة

"Melek Ar-Salih Ibn Mohammed, struck in Damascus in the year seven hundred and forty-three."

The coin thus belongs to the same dynasty as No. 5, and to En-Nasir's successor, Es-Salih, 1342 A.D.

Coin No. 7 is a silver coin, one of the best that the collection has so far yielded, although, of course, that is no indication of what yet may be forthcoming. It is in quite a good state of preservation, though by no means perfect. The clipping has not been severe.

The obverse runs :—

بقاهر
Year obscure.

لا اله الا الله
(محمد رسول (الله

Above and below the . . . . لا اله there is a very pronounced line, which gives it the central place in the coin.

On the reverse there is a circle inside which appears :—

جقمق

and between this central circle and the edge would appear :—

السلطان الملك الظاهر ابو سعيد

but the inscription on the silver is too vague to allow of more than an odd letter being discerned. The circle, in which جقمق appears, gives an idea of how much of the coin has been clipped away. (*See* S. L. Poole, Vol. IV, pp. 206/7.)

The 8th coin is on the whole quite well preserved and simply enough transcribed. It is copper, of weight about 8 grains, and the size of a halfpenny. The inscriptions are surrounded by fanciful ornamentation, thus . The marginal readings on either side are not readable, if indeed readings were originally put there on this coin.

The obverse reads :—

الملك
الظاهر
عالى

and the reverse :—

الامام
الناصر امير
المومنين

It is possible that the margin of the obverse has the formula of the faith, and the margin of the reverse the mint and date, but if so these are not now recognisable. (*See* S. L. Poole, Vol. IV, p. 111.) It is clear, however, that it is an 'Ayyubid coin of El-Kamil Mohammed (*c.* 616 A.H.), of the line of El-'Adil, and as such confirms the activity of the dynasty in the Holy City.

The 9th coin, and the last one which, for the present, we shall consider, is a good specimen of copper, with more of ornamentation and less of writing than all the rest, if indeed it has to be considered a coin of the Arabs at all.

On the obverse side in clear characters is the legend :—

فلس محمد

" Money of Mohammed," with two groups of four dots closely packed together, one group at the top right and the other at the bottom left.

Arab Coins from Ophel and Siloam.

[*To face p.* 188.

The reverse side shows four semi-circles round the edge, with an almost complete circle near the centre, in which occurs the number :—

٣٢

"32." What this may mean is not very clear. There is no suggestion of date, and we can only throw out the conjecture that it may have been a weight of some kind, either for coins or perhaps for chemicals.

From these coins thus examined, and they may perhaps be taken as representative, since they were not specifically selected, it appears that all the great Arabic dynasties are represented. It shows that Ophel throughout the entire Muslim occupation was the centre of a thriving life, which brought its necessities from as far as Samarkand and kept in touch alike with Egypt and Damascus. It goes to show that the Holy City was true to its tradition, in Muslim no less than in Hebrew and Christian occupation, that it is the place to which all the tribes of God go up.

THE SO-CALLED MACCABAEAN POTTERY.

By Gerald M. FitzGerald, M.A.

On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, in the *Q.S.* for April, 1925, General Sir Charles Warren entered a spirited protest against the terminology used in the reports of writers in the field, instancing the abuse of such descriptions as Hellenistic, Greek, Maccabaean, Seleucid, and so forth, and went on to propose that the chronological terms given by the *Q.S.*, April, 1923, should either be adhered to or be revised.

Thus encouraged, one may perhaps venture without impertinence briefly to indicate the disadvantages which seem to follow from the use of the term "Maccabaean pottery" in the reports of the excavations on Ophel by Mr. J. Garrow Duncan (*Q.S.*, October, 1924, January and July, 1925). It must of course be understood that it is merely a matter of terminology that is now in question. It would obviously be in the highest degree improper (and indeed absurd), in commenting upon the provisional reports of an excavation, to anticipate or to criticize the conclusions to which the excavator

may be led by the evidence in his possession. It may, however, be permissible to give one's reasons for deprecating the introduction of a phrase which seems merely to complicate the matter under discussion.

I venture to think the description "Maccabaean pottery" should only be applied to wares which are confined to, or are characteristic of, the period of the Maccabaean dynasty. This period begins about 160 B.C., and may be considered to end either with the entry of Pompey into Jerusalem in 64 B.C., or with the accession of Herod in 37 B.C. It may be mentioned in passing that it was not till the year 142–141 B.C. that Simon Maccabaeus captured the Akra, or citadel, of Jerusalem, which had been built by the Seleucid, Antiochus Epiphanes, about 167 B.C. The destruction and levelling of this fortress, as described by Josephus, is generally regarded as having decidedly affected the history of the site of Ophel.

It will be observed that the period of the Maccabees coincides with the last century of the Seleucid dynasty of Syria, which was founded at the end of the 4th century, and not finally extinguished till Syria became a Roman province in 65 B.C. The Seleucid period is thus practically co-terminous with the Hellenistic, but as a description it is of course only applicable to countries for the time being subject to that dynasty. In view of the uniformity of culture in the Eastern Mediterranean basin after the conquests of Alexander, one would suppose these facts alone would suffice to make "Hellenistic" the fittest term to describe this period. And, in fact, the classification of the archaeological schools in Jerusalem provides for the use of the terms "Jewish" 600–330 B.C., "Hellenistic" 330–100 B.C., "Roman" 100 B.C.–A.D. 350 (*Q.S.*, April, 1923, p. 55).

It might nevertheless be convenient to use the term "Maccabaean pottery" if either the rise or fall of the dynasty coincided with a break in the ceramic history of the country, or if any considerable number of distinctive wares were confined to the period. So far, however, is this from being the case that in the present state of our knowledge not one of the decorated wares characteristic of Hellenistic pottery can be said to fall entirely within the Maccabaean period. I do not, of course, mean that there is any impossibility in concluding that a given collection of potsherds does in fact belong to that period, but I venture to think that no single sherd can possibly be classified as belonging to a definitely Maccabaean fabric.

It may be as well to glance at the history of the more distinctive Hellenistic wares.

(*a*.) The lustrous black varnish which distinguishes Greek ware of the 4th century gradually gave way during the 3rd to an inferior glaze or paint, often rather brown than black. This process began soon after 300 B.C., about which time was introduced the technique of painting conventional wreaths and other designs in light pigment on the dark ground of the vase. An older form of decoration, consisting of stamped patterns (mainly palmettas and concentric circles) also continues during the 3rd century. The inferior black and brown "Maccabaean" examples noted by Mr. Garrow Duncan (*Q.S.*, Jan., 1925, p. 21, notably the painted platter, Plate VII, fig. 20), must be late survivors of a class of pottery which is almost confined to the century preceding the rise of the Maccabees.

(*b*.) Though material which can be accurately dated is unfortunately scanty, the evidence of Hellenistic sites is generally accepted as showing that before the end of the 3rd century (some fifty years before the Maccabaean period), black-glazed ware had been largely superseded by fabrics with a red surface, doubtless the "highly-burnished red ware" noted by Mr. Garrow Duncan (*Q.S.*, *loc. cit.*). The red-surfaced ware, which is undoubtedly older than the Maccabaean period, long survives the fall of the dynasty; Eastern or Greek "Terra Sigillata," as well as the better-known Arretine and Gaulish fabrics, survives into Roman Imperial times.

(*c*.) A third Hellenistic method of decoration consists of black or coloured paint on a light ground, a method of which the Hadra vases of Alexandria, dating from the 3rd century, are conspicuous examples, but which probably continued in use throughout the Hellenistic period into Roman times.

(*d*.) Another class of Hellenistic pottery of which examples may be expected to occur in Maccabaean strata is distinguished by decoration in relief. The so-called Megarian bowls were manufactured in various centres from the middle of the third to the middle or end of the 1st century B.C.

(*e*.) Mr. Garrow Duncan mentions (*Q.S.*, Jan., 1925, p. 22) a thin Maccabaean type of ribbed pottery. In Palestine ribbed pottery, as is well known, becomes exceedingly common in the Roman and Byzantine periods, and though it no doubt occurs earlier, I do not know that any excavator hitherto has succeeded

in establishing a criterion by which to distinguish the ribbed pottery of the first half of the 1st century B.C. from that of the second half.

(*f*.) Lamps are in a somewhat different category from ordinary decorated wares, and they may no doubt be valuable in helping to date strata of the Maccabaean period, especially as towards the beginning of that period wheel-turned lamps are superseded by moulded forms, which continue till the introduction of the typical Roman shapes in the 1st century B.C. We thus have a solitary instance of a ceramic fabric of which the life roughly corresponds to that of the Maccabaean dynasty.

Since it will hardly be contended that undecorated wares are of any great assistance, it seems fairly clear that there is no such thing as "Maccabaean pottery" in any one of the senses in which we speak of Mycenaean, Attic, or Hellenistic pottery; I venture, therefore, to urge that the use of the term can only lead to confusion and ought to be discontinued.[1]

[1] Reference may be made to the following works dealing with Hellenistic pottery, in addition to the published accounts of excavations in Palestine:—

F. Courby: *Vases grecs à reliefs.*

Watzinger: *Mimologen*, Ath. Mitt. XXVI (1901), p. 1; *Vasenfunde aus Athen*, ibid., p. 50.

Breccia: *La Necropoli di Sciatbi.*

Pagenstecher: *Sieglin Expedition II, Part* 3 (*Sammlung Sieglin*).

,, *Dated Sepulchral Vases from Alexandria*, American Journal of Archaeology, XIII (1909), p. 387.

Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth: *Fayūm Towns.*

Pottier: *Vases Hellénistiques à Fond blanc*, Mon. Piot, XX (1912).

G. Leroux: *Lagynos.*

Conze: *Pergamon I.*

,, *Kleinfunde aus Pergamon.*

Wiegand, Schrader and Zahn: *Priene.*

Ure: *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona.*

G. A. Korte: *Gordion* (Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft V).

Dragendorff: *Terra Sigillata*, Bonner, Jahrb., XCVI, p. 18; CI, p. 140.

Loescheke: *Sigillata Töpfereien in Tschandarli*, Ath. Mitt. XXXVII (1912), p. 344.

Walters: *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Greek and Roman Lamps.*

Deonna: *Lampes antiques trouvées à Delos*, Bull. Corr. Hell., XXXII, p. 133; and *Reports on Pergamum* in Ath. Mitt., and on *Delos* in Bull. Corr. Hell.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY FROM ROME TO JERUSALEM.[1]

(*Continued from* p. 151.)

They (*i.e.*, the stone columns) support on all sides a stone roof exceedingly elaborate, and on the stones faces and large images like prophets or patriarchs, as far as the middle. In which castle or house are immense stones so very long and wide, and we saw a rock in which, in our judgment, there might have been a hall with chambers. In that place we saw two columns of porphyry or red marble, which a powerful Turk commanded to be removed to Constantinople for the sepulchre which he was making for himself, which one thousand men were about to remove, and another thousand prepared the way as far as Tripoli and from Tripoli by sea to Constantinople. The Turks hold in great veneration the things of the ancient patriarchs, and therefore he wished to have the said columns, which are said to be Solomon's. All this valley, which is large near the city, and others as far as Mount Lebanon, is believed in the time of Solomon to have been full of cedar trees with which was built the temple at Jerusalem from which Hiram, king of Tyre, provided Solomon. Therefore the aforesaid royal house is believed to be that which was built in the forest of Lebanon. In that place is the town of Balbet in which are Moors, Hebrews and Christians. From there we arrived at the town of Rama, next to Sangai, then appeared a certain fertile valley, large and delightful, called the valley of Gebedenus, where are many Christian people, Greeks and other nationalities, next to Candelaga, where hospitality is given to all both Moors and Christians, where are given the necessary things and a bed gratis for one day. Which house a certain Laga, a Turk, built, who had been a Christian, who left this hospice, fields, gardens and revenues for the aforesaid things, which house is distant a little from Damascus.

[1] The following narrative is a translation (by Mr. H. L. Pink, of the University Library, Cambridge) of a Latin MS. from Mr. H. C. Luke, B.Litt., M.A., former Assistant-Governor of Jerusalem, containing a narrative of a journey to Jerusalem by some Franciscan pilgrim of the XVIth century. The translation adheres to the Latin as far as possible. Dots [. . .] indicate that there is a lacuna in the MS.; square brackets [ ] that a word is illegible; and a line [——] that the scribe has left a blank.

Damascus is the capital of Syria. It is situate in a great plain which has for a mile fields and gardens. A certain river flows through the middle of the city, which by the inhabitants is called Bar, although scripture otherwise says concerning the rivers of Damascus "Meliores sunt Abana et Pharfar fluvii Damasci omnibus aquis Israel." Near the city are mountains, on one of which they say Cain killed Abel his brother; and in that place is a certain mosque, and, lower on the same plain, they say Cain was killed by Lamech whilst he hunted, concerning which Genesis 4. Damascus has four boroughs or suburbs of which one of them is 3 miles in length. Damascus has two walls (12) one after the other, and before the wall it has seven gates of which one, which is the eastern, is called the gate of St. Paul from which begins the street Straight, concerning which Acts 9 and of the conversion of Paul, for in this street Straight, Paul was found by Ananias in the house of Jude, in which he was baptized by Ananias in which place the Christians built a church. But now the Moors have it for a mosque, therefore they do not allow Christians to enter. This street Straight is 2 miles or more in length, then it is joined with that borough which is 3 miles, and thus from the gate of St. Paul to the gate of the borough it is 5 miles. Towards the same gate of St. Paul is the house of Ananias where one is allowed to enter, which is a subterranean church, but certain Greek Christians, secretly by other ways, introduce the Christians who are going out by the gate of St. Paul. A mile away in a certain hillock is a certain subterranean church where is said to have taken place the conversion of St. Paul, and thence he was brought into Damascus not seeing. On the same hillock Christians are buried. Before the same gate is a certain subterranean church which is said to be St. George's, where they descend through a certain opening. In the wall of the city at the southern part is a certain gate closed up with stones, which is called by these people Bebchisan, by which through the wall, St. Paul was released since the Jews wished to kill him because he had been converted to Christianity. They keep closed and say that Damascus by this gate must be taken by enemies. In Damascus are very many mosques, so many that some say there are 20,000, among which is one large and most beautiful, which was a church of the Christians which is called St. Zacharias, which has four iron doors from which the whole is seen, and at the sides it has large porches with columns which appeared to be cloisters of

a certain monastery where now merchants have their markets; which city is exceedingly populous and most abundant in all things more than Aleppo, which has the largest fields with an abundance of waters of which the gardens are more than 30 miles in circumference. Damascus is distant from Jerusalem six days' journey, and Damascus is distant the same from Aleppo. From Barut two days' journey, from Tripoli four. Concerning Damascus, see Isaiah cap. 17 and Jeremiah 49 and the Fourth (*i.e.*, Second) Book of Kings 5. There is a castle, and in that place also is the Patriarch of the Greeks of Antioch, who lives there. There are many other things worthy of mention concerning which from a certain (13) Italian book. Having set out from Damascus to the south we arrived at a certain *Can* (*i.e.*, Khan) called Ebbrech, and in that place is a river called Nharlanac, from there to Sasia, where is paid for the Frank Christians a certain tax, next we passed through the *Can* of Oinirti, then Pergie, and to the town of Sumaca; and to the right hand we saw at the foot of the snowy mountain certain towns where are produced those dried grapes of Damascus, both most excellent and large without stones. On the third day we came to the mountains, Caphet which is in Upper Galilee, where there is a great congregation of Hebrews; but before we came to these mountains we saw around them in a certain valley a certain lake which these people call the Melhee Sea, formed by the waters Jor and Dan descending from Mount Lebanon; these people say descending from the Bainas mountains, from which lake goes out the water or river Jordan, and it flows to the Sea of Galilee, for these people call all congregations of waters seas. These two lakes are distant one from the other 8 miles more or less, and in the middle in which flows the river Jordan there is a bridge over the river which is called the Bridge of Jacob, because through it they say Jacob passed when he came out of Mesopotamia with his household. And in that place near the bridge is a certain *Can* where is paid also a certain tax to pass over the bridge. They can drink of the water of the river Jordan. Next 6 miles away or thereabout, we arrived at another house or *Can* where there is a certain well which is called the well of Joseph. It is said Joseph was cast into it by his brethren, and afterwards sold to merchants going into Egypt; but now there is water in the well good to drink. And between these two seas or lakes is a place suitable for pasturing cattle, and a valley and a large plain and mountains and the sweet waters of

each lake. And thus it happened that Joseph's brethren pastured their flocks in that place when Jacob his father sent him to Sichem to them. And when he did not find them in that place he went to Dothan, for it is not far thence. It is a town which the Moors call Ataim, which we think is Dothan, concerning which Genesis 37. By this way is the journey into Egypt, and so on the third day on which we set out from Damascus we came to the Sea of Galilee to the town called Elmini, otherwise Bethsaida, the native place of Saints Peter and Andrew the Apostles. It is situate near the sea almost on the shore. It is a great consolation to see this sea which our Christ and Redeemer so often crossed and walked upon its waters, where he called so many disciples to himself (14). Also there, on the shore is Capernaum, but destroyed, and Tiberias. In the aforesaid town of Elmini is paid, even to-day, a certain tax or sea-toll. There also is Chorazin and Caesarea Philippi, but all destroyed. The water of this sea is sweet and drinkable, because, as is seen, it comes from the Jordan and river waters; but the fish of this sea are insipid and exceedingly prickly. Of this sea the Evangelists say many things; it remains to be said that it is a day's journey in circumference. This sea is in a certain valley 6 miles in extent with mountains on all sides. There is the valley in the lower part, it is not so even that the water comes out greatly on one side, and this is the river Jordan which flows as far as Jericho through a large valley as far as that place where Christ was baptized, and thence flows to the Dead Sea, and there Jordan ends. The water of this Sea of Galilee, or Tiberias, is sky blue because it is deep, and there the waves become great when the wind is strong, and thus the Apostles began to be endangered and being compelled they aroused Christ, saying "Domine adiuva nos perimus." This sea is 12 miles in length, somewhat more or less in our judgment, because all of it is seen, and in breadth 6 miles or more. Jordan flows from the north to the south with these lakes and Jordan divides the Holy Land from Arabia, for after the Valley of Jordan appear great mountains, and from the north to the south after which is Arabia Petrea, which stretches as far as Egypt. And near this sea is a mountain and plain where Christ fed the 5,000 with five loaves and two fishes, and beyond the sea is the place where he fed the 4,000 with seven loaves. Then a mile away is Athaim, which others call Dotaim, and to the left appears Mount Tabor, and near it is Mount Hermon. And to the right hand is left Cana of Galilee,

almost opposite to Mount Tabor, but totally destroyed. Next to the town of Mascana, from there to the town of Queserquenim, next to Nerin, then to the city of Nazareth, where the Word was made flesh, which was an angelic and celestial house but now is a house of robbers and murderers; the inhabitants of it are Saracens. It is a lamentable thing to see thus such a town. We saw nothing more stony, full of thorns and desert. Nazareth is situate among certain hillocks on the side of one (15) of them. We saw no field in that place except a few sterile fig trees and within the town a palm, and there the Church of the Blessed Virgin where was her house, but we were unable to enter for fear of robbers. There do not seem to be other flowers in the whole circuit of Nazareth, save the thistles which appear flourishing, for Nazareth, being interpreted, means flowery. After Nazareth, after some few miles, we descended into a certain valley, large and wide, which is called the Valley of Tharabeus, where almost all the inhabitants are Arabs. This valley, which is in Galilee, is 30 or 40 miles in length, and in breadth 6 miles, and sometimes 8 and sometimes more. We came to a certain bridge where is paid a certain tax. From there we came to a certain town called Arra; next, to another called Lacon. Then through the town of Calentia, next by the *Can Oteri*, and farther on through Benjamin, then to Geliuli, but before we saw the port of Jaffa, to the right hand towards the west appeared a certain town. Rama is seen not far off, and shortly after, 2 miles from Rama, Lidda is seen, where St. Peter cured Aeneas, the cripple. And from the port of Jaffa, as far as Rama and Lidda and beyond, is a great plain; then mountains begin by which from all parts we ascended towards Jerusalem by a road fairly stony and rough.

Arriving at Jerusalem, the holy city, we stayed on Mount Zion with the religious of St. Francis, not, however, in the monastery, because our brethren have been wholly expelled from it, and these Turks and Moors have it for a mosque; also the holy chamber and chapel of the Holy Spirit where it came upon the Apostles on the day of Pentecost; also all other mysteries which were in the same mountain are under the power of the Turks. And so the needy religious, who were expelled in the year 1552, dwell in the place where was their bakery, and this is their habitation and rest. There they celebrate, sleep and eat, and there they bake bread for themselves and the religious, who are in the Holy Sepulchre and in Bethlehem—a lamentable thing if deeply considered and looked

into a little by our superiors and Pope—and unless God provides they will carry off all. This monastery of Mount Zion is now outside the city, and so we stayed near this monastery (16) outside the city, for, in the year 1548, the Turks surrounded all this city with a new wall, and having moved the old, and thus was the city drawn in from the southern part where is Mount Zion, and is extended towards the north, and thence it happened that the monastery which before was within the city is outside. And on the other hand, the Sepulchre of the Lord, which before was outside, is now inside the city with Mount Calvary. The whole [ ] within the city. And so having obtained leave and a guard from those more religious Saracens who [ ] give the keys to enter the monastery by night, and with the religious we visited the holy chamber where Christ supped with his disciples, and there instituted the Sacrament and washed the Apostles' feet. There is still in that place a stone sign where he preached that divine sermon after supper, concerning which John 13 and further; but now it is a mosque of the Saracens, and further behind the head of the chamber is the chapel of the Holy Spirit, when on the day of Pentecost it came upon the disciples, but there is a wall in the middle. The Saracens discovered this place. The chamber is eleven large paces in length and seven in breadth. We saw underneath the chamber the room in which the Virgin Mary lived so many years after the Ascension of Christ, and another of St. John the Evangelist. And under the chapel of the Holy Spirit is said to be the sepulchre of David and Solomon in a subterranean place; from the holy scriptures we know their sepulchre is in Mount Zion, concerning which the Third Book of Kings, cap. 2, and the Third Book of Kings, cap. 11, "Sepultus est in civitate David patris sui." And on account of this the Saracens say we are unworthy of those places where their patriarchs David and Solomon are buried; because, as is apparent, they hold patriarchs in great veneration, saying that they are of the seed of Mahomet. And on this occasion they took away the whole monastery, obtaining this from a powerful Turk in the year in which the Island of Rhodes was taken. They took away the chamber and chapel of the Holy Spirit, and afterwards for eight years took away the cloister. Afterwards [ ] seized, in the year 1552, the whole monastery and the large church which was there at the side of the chamber. And there is the place where Christ said to Thomas "Infer manum tuam, etc." Also there is seen

within the monastery a certain stone placed in a certain wall lest it should be lost, which they say the angels brought from Mount Sinai, and where there was the church at the side of the chamber. Also there are many (17) mysteries which happened there. First there is the place where the Blessed Virgin Mary departed from this life, and there near where she was anointed, which was in the same chamber where she also lived, is also the place where St. John the Evangelist celebrated Mass for her. Some say that the Virgin Mary lived in these houses for fourteen years after the Ascension of Christ. There is also the place where St. James the Less was elected Bishop of Jerusalem, and the place where the lot fell upon Mathias as an Apostle, and the place whence Christ sent Apostles to preach, and also where St. Stephen was buried by his disciples after he had been stoned and died; although now his body is at Rome, together with St. Laurence, outside the walls. And many other mysteries happened in this Church of which vestiges are still apparent. And the holy chamber with the chapel of the Holy Spirit was at the side of the church in a rather prominent place. Also we saw there the stone of the spasm of the Blessed Virgin when she almost died seeing her son so burdened with the cross. This stone was brought and preserved in this monastery, and in order that it might not be lost the religious had it placed as the higher lintel of a certain door in the monastery.

And leaving Mount Zion, there near the wall of the city outside is seen the place where the Jews wished to detain the bier and body of the Blessed Virgin Mary when the Apostles were carrying it for burial in the Valley of Josaphat; but their hands and arms grew stiff with cold. At that time, this place and the whole of Mount Zion was within the city, now it is outside. Descending further, there is seen the place or cavern where Peter wept bitterly after he had denied Christ, and next the brook Cedron is seen where there is now a small stone bridge, and from the bridge itself, towards the upper part of the valley, begins the Valley of Josaphat, which is not very long or wide. It is one mile in length, and little more than a stone's throw in breadth. And from the aforesaid bridge, the lower is called the Valley of Siloe; and water only flows through this brook when it rains. And after this bridge, towards the Mount of Olives, or at the foot of it, because there, immediately after the bridge, the Mount of Olives begins. In that place, near the bridge, appears a certain sepulchre, which is said to be Absalon's; others

say it is that of Josaphat, from whom the said valley was called Josaphat. And a little further is the place where was the town and garden of Gethsemane; a little further on in the Valley of Josaphat is the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary in a certain church. After this church, in the side of the Mount of Olives, almost 20 miles away, is that cavern (18) where Christ so often prayed and sweated drops of blood in it for us; it is a most devoted place and subterranean, to which you descend by eight steps, and almost in the middle it has an open mouth, and within, certain pillars made out of the same rock. There, Mass is sometimes celebrated, principally in Holy Week, and in all these places there are great indulgences. There is seen also at the entrance of the garden or town of Gethsemane the place where Christ left the eight disciples, and with those three, to wit, Peter, James and John, he went further, to whom also he commanded, after discussion, that they should remain there and watch. And then Christ went in order to pray in the aforesaid cavern, where He prayed the Father. And near there is the place where Christ was taken, there is a stone and the place marked, and likewise also other holy places have their signs, which the religious who join the pilgrims know and point out. All these aforesaid places are at the foot of the Mount of Olives, where also is the place marked whence the Blessed Virgin looked towards the other side of the Valley of Josaphat when they were stoning Stephen on the slope of the city, not far from the sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin, almost two stones' throw; and near there, between the aforesaid places, where Peter cut off the right ear of Malchus. And after ascending the Mount of Olives, which is fairly rough and the road stony, although there are many olive trees on the aforesaid mountain, is seen the place where Christ predicted the evils which were to come to Jerusalem, and he predicted future evils and concerning the Judgment; and also the place where the Apostles drew up the Symbol of Faith; and a little higher where Christ taught his disciples to pray Our Father; and also the Church where St. Pelagia did penance, and in that place her sepulchre, although others say it is that of St. Mary the Egyptian; and on the summit of the Mount of Olives is a Church and a certain round chapel whence Christ our Redeemer ascended to heaven, and in that place Christ left an impression of his foot, as is seen to-day and adored by pilgrims. And from that place is seen the whole city and temple of Solomon, because the Mount of Olives

is much higher than the city of Jerusalem, and the lower part of the city is the temple of Solomon, which is that part which descends towards the Valley of Josaphat, and that piece of the wall which looks back on the Valley of Josaphat and the Valley of Siloe. That same wall is the wall of the temple of Solomon, in which wall is a golden gate through which Christ on Palm Sunday entered the temple. This golden gate is now closed up with stones, and (19) it came to pass by a divine order that with the years of peace, the whole wall of the city was renovated by the Turks; however, this remained joined to the new wall on each side. And after this gate, towards the north in the same wall, which is towards the Valley of Josaphat, is the gate of St. Stephen, through which he went out when he was being brought in order that he might be stoned, which place where he was stoned is almost opposite to the sepulchre of the Virgin. From the same summit of the Mount of Olives there is seen towards the east the valley through which Jordan flows. And towards the south is seen the Dead Sea or Salt Sea or Sea of Sodom and Gomorrha, 25 miles away or a little more. And not far from this Mount of Olives, on another mountain almost equal to this towards the north, which is called the Mount of Galilee, there is a certain church, the place where Christ appeared to his disciples after his Resurrection, as he said to them, Matthew 28, "Procedam vos in Galileam." It is distant from the Mount of Olives almost three throws of a ballista. Having seen this part of the Mount of Olives which looks towards the city, we began to descend by another towards Bethany, which looks towards the east. And in the descent are some houses, and afterwards we arrived at the place where Christ mounted the ass on Palm Sunday. And descending further, we came to Bethphage, which was a town of priests, and whence the ass was brought with the foal according to some; now, however, there is nothing in Bethphage nor a vestige of any house. And descending further, Bethany is seen, which is situate on the eastern side of the Mount of Olives, on which side the said mountain has trees, and it is cultivated although in other parts it is stony and rough. Beyond Bethany is the Castle Magdalo, the castle of Magdalena, but almost destroyed, and from it at the distance of the throw of the ballista is seen the place where there was the house of Martha. And a little further towards Bethany is seen the stone upon which Christ sat when he came to revive Lazarus, to whom Martha came running, saying, "Domine si fuisses hic, etc.," and in

like manner Magdalena. After having entered Bethany, we went where there was the Sepulchre and Church of Lazarus, but it cannot be seen because the Moors have it in their custody. And near this sepulchre is the castle of Martha and her house, who was the hostess of Christ, into whose castle Christ often entered. It was a castle with a moat (*cava*) in circuit, as is seen to-day, concerning which, from the Gospel, "Intravit Jesus in quoddam castellum, etc." For this town of Bethany had fallen to Martha by inheritance from her parents, and to Lazarus, her brother, had fallen a certain street in Jerusalem, and to Magdalena the town or castle, by name Magdalum, which was in Galilee, although she had another castle or town in Bethany with her sister Martha. And a little above the castle of Martha is seen (20) the house of Simon the Leper, who it is said was related by blood to Martha and Magdalena, in whose house Christ supped on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, where Magdalena poured the unguent of pure nard upon the head of Christ, and according to another Evangelist, she anointed his feet. Now there is a church in this house of Simon, but it is now destroyed. After seeing these things, we returned by another side of the mountain almost in the south, and in Bethany there now dwell a few Moors. And a little further along this road we saw to the left-hand of the route lower down, the place where there was the fig tree which Christ cursed not finding fruit on it. All the pilgrims throw stones in the same place. And coming down the slope of the mountain towards the city, and there on the slope is seen the place where Judas hung himself and burst asunder. There was a mosque in that place. And passing across the brook Cedron, there by the bridge, we came to our hospice on Mount Zion. At the side of the Mount of Olives towards the south is the temple Moloch, which Solomon built to that idol and others, concerning which the Third Book of Kings, cap. 10. This mountain is joined with the Mount of Olives opposite to the city of Mount Zion, where he also had his concubines, but now it is a half-divine place. There are still extant certain room-walls and arches, which place even to-day is called Moloch of Solomon, where he worshipped idols through the love of women. Near the monastery of Mount Zion is the house of Caiaphas who was the high priest for that year, which also is outside the city, in which house, after he was in the house of Anna, Christ passed that whole night of Holy Thursday where he was mocked, buffeted and scourged throughout almost the whole night,

and in it is the church which the Christian Armenians have. At the right side of the chapel is a certain small chamber in which Christ remained captive for that night when he was not being mocked by those most vile servants. And on the altar of this chapel is that large and precious stone which was placed at the door of the tomb of Our Lord after he was buried, concerning which Mary said, "Quis revolvet nobis lapidem? etc.," which is ten palms in length and five in breadth and two in thickness, although in some parts it is mutilated. And outside this chapel is the place where Peter warmed himself at the fire, in that place there is now Marangulus and it is the place where there was the cock which crowed after Peter denied Christ thrice. Then Peter went out and wept bitterly in that cavern concerning which, above. Near the monastery of Mount Zion is the place where king David did penance for his sins, to wit, for the adultery with Bersabe and the murder of Uria, and he composed seven Psalms. It is a stone's throw at the side of the monastery towards the Mount of Olives, for we know the abode of David himself was on Mount Zion, which was called (21) the City of David, for part of this mountain as we said is outside the walls and part within, in which there is now a fortress of the Turks.

Before entrance into the Holy Sepulchre, each pilgrim pays nine *castellani*, and then come three or four Turkish officials with their scribe to open the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and having taken the pilgrims' names, and whence they are, and the aforesaid money by weight, they open the door with their keys and remove the seal, and entering, having greeted the religious who were there, we all in procession, with a cross preceding, visited all the mysteries which are in this church, which is large and in all places after the Antiphon, all these places were described by the brethren. And the aforesaid Turks having closed and sealed the door go away not to return until the following day or two days; and during this interval the pilgrims are consoled visiting these holy places once and again. And first we visited the Holy Sepulchre of Christ, a place to be venerated and worthy of all veneration, concerning the building and manner of which many books say that this Sepulchre is situate almost in the middle of the Church towards the west, and although the construction of the Holy Sepulchre of Christ is seen, which is square shaped within, however, no one touches or can see the Sepulchre itself where Christ was laid, nor is it known how it was made in the stone, except that it is believed

it is like other Jews used to make, and even to-day they are visible everywhere in those parts because they used to excavate in the actual rocks and caverns, and there they used to make rooms where they used to lay the bodies of the dead, as is apparent; also near Jerusalem, such rooms with their bodies of the dead without any covering, except that the roof of the cavern (is) so placed that it was hollowed in the rock, and some stone being placed upon the tomb; in whatever way this was done no one, however, knows or sees, nor do the religious themselves know because the whole of that place, where there was the sepulchre, is covered with large marbles, and it was covered above like a sanctuary; and in this sanctuary are many lamps, and there is an altar where Mass is celebrated, under which altar there is believed to be the place of the Sepulchre of Christ. This sanctuary is small, scarcely two or three can be present with the celebrating priest, and going out from this sanctuary bent, because the door is very small, we went into another sanctuary, somewhat larger, and these two sanctuaries are from the beginning when the sepulchre was made by Joseph, because before Christ no one had been laid therein as is clear from John 19. And before the gate of this sanctuary was placed that large stone which we said was now in the house of Caiaphas, concerning which, the Maries going to the tomb said "Quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti?" Behold how that stone was not over the *capa* of the tomb but at the door, and near (22) that small door through which you enter to the sanctuary where is the Holy Sepulchre. In that place before this there is the stone fixed upon which was the angel when he asked the Maries "Quem queritis Jesum Nazarenum surrexit non est hic in hoc sacro loco sancti sepulchri." And this sepulchre is from the east to the west, for when the sun rises it enters through the larger chapel to the aforesaid doors of the Holy Sepulchre. At the back of this Holy Sepulchre, in this building which I said was square, although the inner sanctuaries are almost round, there is a small chapel which the Christians called *Costi* hold. No one can show the measurement of this Holy Sepulchre except the measurement of the altar upon which there is celebration, under which is believed to be the Holy Sepulchre. However, whether it is longer or shorter we do not know. And it is the same concerning the Sepulchre of the Blessed Mary, which is in the Valley of Josaphat. After the Holy Sepulchre we went round the aforesaid church, which is large, visiting that green stone upon which Christ was

anointed after death, and near there is the place where the Virgin Mary with other women, watching from afar, saw when they crucified Christ. It is a good stone's throw from Mount Calvary. Then we visited the place Calvary, to which you ascend by nineteen steps. There is a chapel where Christ was crucified, when the cross was laid out, which the brethren of St. Francis hold, with many lamps, and there at the side another chapel where the cross was erected and placed in a hole, which exists to-day surrounded with silver. The hole is one cubit in length in the rock and in breadth one palm. The hole is round, which chapel the *Gorgii* Christians and Greeks have, and at the side of this hole and chapel are two columns marking where the crosses of the malefactors were fixed. And to the right hand of this chapel there is the rock which was cleft when Christ died, because the stones are cleft. And under the chapel of Calvary, almost beneath the hole of the cross, is the place where Adam's head was found, and the cleft of the aforesaid rock extends to this place. And descending from Mount Calvary we saw six or seven sepulchres of kings of the city, among which were those of Godfrey of Bulon and Baldwin of the Gauls. Next, in a certain chapel, we visited the column upon which Christ, when sitting, was crowned and scourged and mocked by those soldiers in the house of Pilate. And after these we descended to the chapel of St. Helen and Constantine by thirty steps. And in that place there are four columns which are commonly said to lament, but it is not so. In winter-time, since it is a subterranean place, they are wont to be damp, and on account of this the chapel also. We descended further by eleven steps cut in the rock to the chapel where the Cross of Christ was found, and the iron of the lance and the three nails and the crown. This place is exceedingly damp and subterranean. In that place there is now a large cross on a certain altar, and in the roof of this cavern, because a certain part was then open, or three openings, in memory of the fact that they thence threw those three crosses into this cavern and most foul place (23), then because near there, where they hung and crucified the men, and above they placed an image of Venus, as the histories tell; but after many years St. Helen found the Cross of the Lord there, and built this church so large that she might include in it all the aforesaid mysteries. And going out from this chapel we visited the chapel where those soldiers who were dividing Christ's garments cast lots for them. And next, another chapel, which is called the prison,

where Christ remained captive and bound whilst they prepared the things necessary for crucifying him. Then there is the place where Christ appeared to Magdalena in the form of a gardener, saying "Noli me tangere." And near there is the place where it is said Christ first appeared on the day of his Resurrection to the Blessed Virgin Mary. And next, in a certain chapel or sacristy of the religious of St. Francis, there is in the middle of it the place where the Cross of Christ was tested being placed on a dead man who straightway arose. And to the left hand of this chapel there is the recess, or window, in which there is a piece of the column to which Christ was bound and scourged. And on the other side of this chapel there is another window where, for a long time, remained a good piece of the wood of the Cross of Christ; and afterwards in the middle of this large church, in the larger chapel, which the Greeks have, we saw a certain stone perforated in the middle where Christ is said to have said "This is the middle of the world for the king of glory suffered in the middle of the earth," witness David, Psalm 73. All these holy places are in the aforesaid Church of the Holy Sepulchre, so placed in such order that they are narrated and seen by the eyes, and round about this Church there dwell within [some] of all the nations of Christians, who have their own particular places and their lamps. They are priests or religious who dwell within, for they are, in the first place, our brethren of St. Francis, (2) Greeks, (3) Susians, (4) Jacobites, (5) Gorgiani, (6) Abacini, (7) Costi, (8) Nestorians, (9) Armenians. Our brethren have in the Holy Sepulchre twelve lamps in that sanctuary, and also other nationalities have some, and in St. Calvary our brethren have eighteen lamps, and so in other places. And over the chapel of St. Calvary there is another chapel in a prominent and high place, also on the mountain to which you ascend by the place outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre where Abraham was willing to sacrifice his son, Isaac. The *Abachini* Christians hold this in great veneration, and in the square, which is before the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there are some chapels, that is, at one side, the chapel or church of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, and another of St. Angelus, another of St. John the Baptist, four of St. Mary Magdalena; but in the middle of this square there is the stone, rather red and cleft, upon which Christ stood a little while and rested whilst he was being brought to Mount Calvary.

(*To be continued.*)

A JEWISH TOMB-STONE.

By A. E. Cowley, D.Litt., F.B.A.

A Jewish tomb-stone with an Aramaic inscription was found at the S.E. end of the Dead Sea by Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby during his recent travels. I cannot do better than quote the account he sent me in a letter dated May 5, 1925:—

> "The stone (I think sandstone), on which the inscription was engraved, was shown to me by the people of Ghor al-Safi, a small agricultural community living in tents, but permanently settled in a small area lying to the south and south-east of the Dead Sea on the Wadi Hasa (? the brook Zered) at the point where the latter debouches from the hills of Moab and runs down into the Dead Sea. They told me it was found among the masonry ruins of Qasr al-Tuba, the remnants of a small settlement at the base of the hills and close to the left bank of Wadi Hasa as it issues therefrom. They also told me that before the war a Turkish officer, Yuzbashi Muhammad Effendi, did some digging (of a very amateurish character, I suppose) among these ruins, but they did not know if he had found anything of interest. That, I am afraid, is all I can tell you about the place, except that Qasr al-Tuba is obviously the site of a former settlement of no great size, and that a permanent flow of water in Wadi Hasa has doubtless been utilized in early times, as it is now, to irrigate the area immediately surrounding the site. Zuwaira (Zoar, the city of palm trees) is about ten miles distant north of Jabal Usdum and south of Masada (Al Sabba)."

Dr. Albright, who was in the neighbourhood at the same time as Mr. Philby, also wrote to me on June 7, 1925, as follows:

> "Before we left 'Ammân for the Ghôr eṣ-Ṣâfieh a year ago last February, Mr. Philby told us that the Ghōrânī sheikh at that point had shown him an interesting inscription, apparently in some Semitic script. He looked for his rubbing, but could not find it. Thinking that it was Nabataean, we inquired carefully

at Ghôr es-Ṣâfieh, but could find no trace of the inscription in question. Later, while at Ghôr el-Mezra'ah, Na'îm Effendi Maḥḥûleh, Deputy Inspector of Antiquities, who was with us, discovered that the inscription had been sent to Bâb ed-Drâ' for safe keeping, but the local sheikh denied that he had it with him, so we were unable to see it."

Mr. Philby afterwards found his rubbing, which he very kindly sent to me. Of this I give (Plate I) a reduced photographic reproduction, but as the result is not very distinct, I have added a copy (Plate II) from a photograph on which I outlined the letters as far as possible. Too much reliance, however, must not be placed on the shapes of the letters as shown in Plate II, since in some places the stone is evidently a good deal weathered, and I may not always have traced them correctly. It is only by the help of the context that such parts can be read. At the same time, with a little good will, one can make out the whole text, with the exception of the name of the father of the deceased.

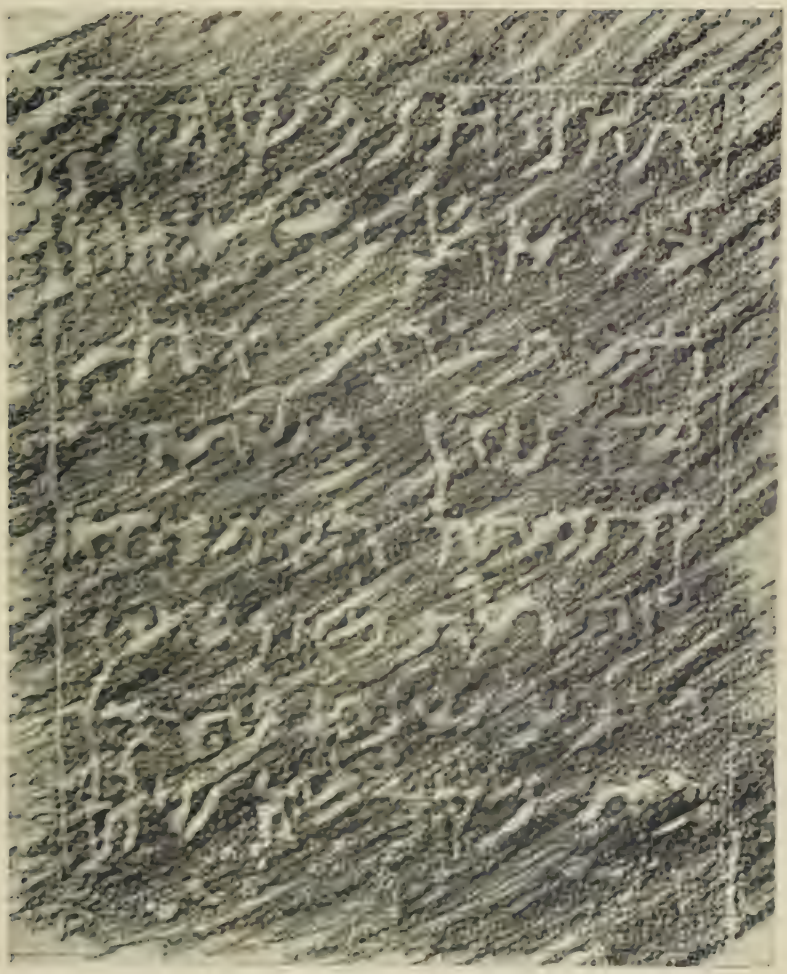
The dimensions of the inscribed part of the stone, as shown by the rubbing, are 6½ inches high by 6 broad.

The text is as follows :—

תתניח נפשה	1. Rested be the soul
דשאול בר	2. of Saul, son of . . . . . ,
דמית בריש ירח	3. who died on the first of the month
מרחשון משתה	4. Marḥeshwan of the year
קדמיתה דשמטתה	5. the first of the shemiṭṭa
שנת תלת מא ושתין	6. the year three hundred and sixty
וארבע שנין לחרבן	7. and four years after the destruction
בית מקדשה שלם	8. of the house of the sanctuary. Peace !

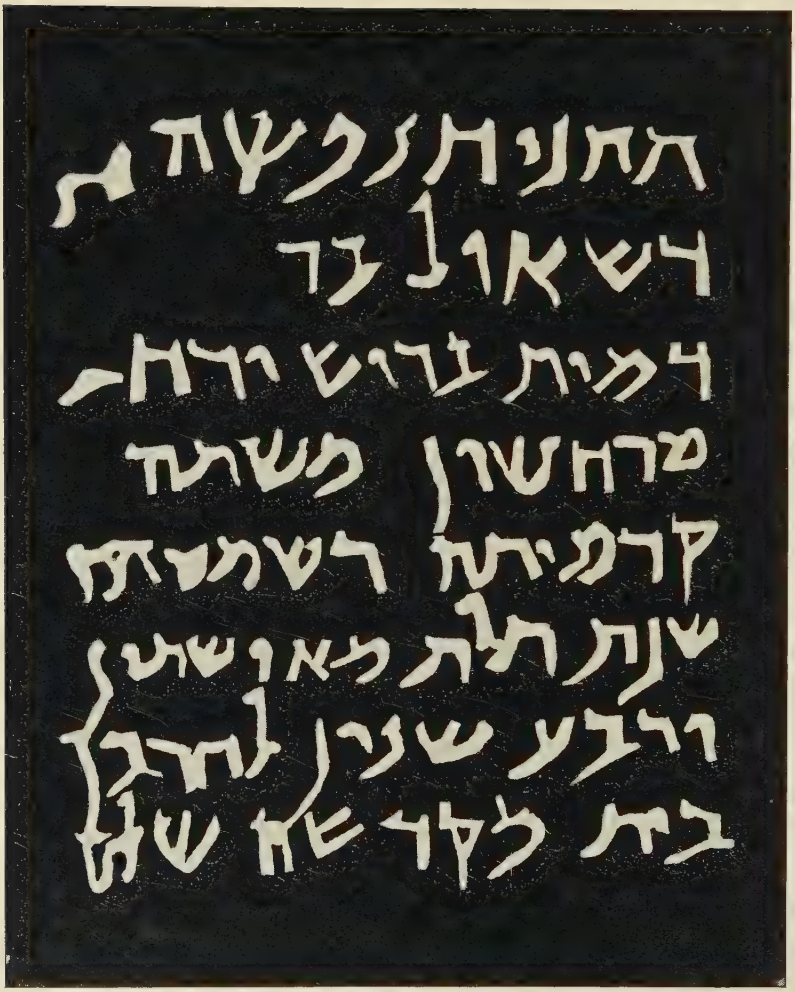
1. תתניח is unusual. The common formula is נח נפש.

2. I cannot guess the second name. Of the first two (?) letters only the smallest traces remain. The third letter would naturally be read as ח, but it is unlike the ח elsewhere in the inscription. The fourth letter is ו or possibly י. The fifth is apparently ז. As I cannot think of any name ending in חוז—or חיז—, I wondered whether the whole could be ר׳ אחי זל (by a Hebraism), the ל being squeezed nearly out of the line. This is not very probable and, moreover, I do not know that the abbreviation זל ("may his memory be for a blessing," used of the dead) was in use so early.



1. Rubbing of an Ancient Jewish Tomb-stone.

[*To face p.* 208.



2. Copy of the Inscription on the Tomb-stone.

5. The Shemitṭa is properly the "remission" of debts, which took place (in Palestine) in the Sabbatical year (Lev. xxv, 4). It was afterwards used to denote the period of seven years ending with the Sabbatical year.

In קדמיתה the letters דמי are badly made. The word might be read קדישתה, "the holy year." I think, however, it is קדמיתה, the first of a new period of seven years. This agrees with the Talmudical rule (*B.T. 'Aboda Zara, f.* 9^{b}) for finding the year of the Shemitṭa: take the number of years since the destruction of the Temple (here 364), add 1 (= 365), divide by 7, and the remainder (= 1) gives you the number of the year in the Shemitṭa.

6, 7. The date is certain, though there are two mistakes in it: מא for מאה and ורבע for וארבע. If these are not mere slips, they may represent a popular pronunciation which neglected the shewa.

7. The era of the destruction of the Temple dates from 69 A.D., and the date of the death is therefore 433 A.D..

Although it gives no important information, the inscription is of considerable interest for the development of the alphabet, because it belongs to a time and place of which we know very little palaeographically. The forms of the letters, though roughly cut and not very consistent, are in general what we should expect at this date. They are very like the square characters found in the mosaic at 'Ain ed-Dok, allowing for the difference of material. Clermont-Ganneau, in his article in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1919, pp. 87 *sqq.*, with his usual brilliant insight, dates the mosaic in the 4th or 5th century A.D., though an earlier date has been proposed by Father Vincent (*Revue Biblique*, 1919, pp. 532 *sqq.* and 1921, pp. 579 *sqq.*). The א is of an ordinary square form. The ב has a sharply sloping lower stroke. ד and ר, as far as the forms are certain, are clearly distinguished. So are ה and ח, the latter approximating in shape to ת. Apparently ו is rather larger than י and is upright, while slopes slightly to the right. The ל in l. 2 is well formed, but in l. 8 it has become almost a straight line, perhaps owing to lack of space. מ varies in form a good deal, but the lower stroke always slopes, nearly parallel to the upper side-stroke. Final ם has the long, narrow, early shape. Note the two forms of נ in l. 1. Final ן is simply a line with a bend in the middle. פ occurs only in l. 1, where it has an almost final form. ק has the head closed. Note the various forms of ש, *e.g.*, in l. 1 (with a tail?) and l. 8.

ג, כ, ס, צ do not occur, ז is doubtful and ט defaced.

A feature of the writing is the way in which the letters are run into one another, *e.g.*, קדמיתה, תלת. This is not due to lack of space only, but seems to me to imitate a cursive pen-hand. It gives a vague general impression of Nabataean influence.

As to Saul, the son of . . . , I can say nothing. I hope Dr. Albright may tell us what is known of Jewish settlements in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea.

THE INSCRIPTION OF AḤIRAM, KING OF BYBLUS.

By Stanley A. Cook, Litt.D.

The inscription of Aḥiram, king of Byblus, has been described, and without exaggeration, as perhaps the most important monument of its kind since the discovery of the Moabite stone in 1868. As its date has been confidently fixed at the 13th century B.C., it is by far the oldest specimen of Phoenician epigraphy, and it is of far-reaching importance as it carries back our evidence for the introduction of the North Semitic alphabet, and links up with the strange writing from the Sinaitic Peninsula (Serabit el-Khadim) which seems to come between Egyptian hieroglyphs and the linear Phoenician alphabet. It has already attracted wide attention and some account of it may be of interest to readers of the *Q.S.*

In the course of the French excavations of Byblus, M. Pierre Montet discovered graves going back to the XIIth dynasty of Egypt. Among them was one of the 13th century B.C. containing a sarcophagus with the inscription in question. After a brief statement by M. Montet in December, 1923, a full and admirable

account was given by M. René Dussaud in the French archaeological journal *Syria* (1924, part ii, pp. 135–157). Since then there have been discussions by Lidzbarski, Gressmann and Bauer, and, more recently, Father Vincent has contributed a valuable account of the excavations at Byblus to the *Revue Biblique* (1925, April, pp. 161–193). It is upon these discussions that the present hasty summary is based.[1]

The inscription reads as follows—doubtful letters are surmounted by a dot :—

(1) ארן | ז פעל | ..תבעל | בן אחרם | מלך גבל | לאחרם |
אבה | כשתה | בעלם |
(2) ואל | מלך | במלכם | וסכן בסנם | ותמא | מחנת |
עלי | גבל | ויגל | ארן | זן | תחתסף | חטר | מישפטה
תחתפך | כסא | מלכה | ונחת | תברח | על | גבל |
והא | ימח | ספר ז | לפפ | שרל

Father Vincent's translation runs: (1) Sarcophage qu'a fait Ithoba'al fils d'Aḥiram, roi de Gébal pour Aḥiram son père comme sa demeure pour l'éternité. (2) Et si quelque roi parmi les rois ou gouverneur entre les gouverneurs venait à dresser un camp devant Gébel, et qu'il découvre ce sarcophage, que se brise le sceptre de sa justice, que s'effondre le trône de son pouvoir royal et que la paix plane sur Gébal! Quant à celui qui effacerait cette inscription, que soit anéanti pour lui [tout] rejeton.

The general sense is clear; "this sarcophagus" is that which "—baal, son of Aḥiram, king of Gebal, made for Aḥiram his father," and a warning is uttered against anyone who destroys tomb and inscription—though the exact wording of the second line is obscure. The words are, with few exceptions, separated by a short line; the script differs in some noticeable respects both from that which is familiar in the Phoenician inscriptions (of very similar style) of the 4th century, and from the Moabite and other inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries. On this account, and for the various obscure phrases in it, the inscription of Aḥiram stands in a class by itself.

[1] The references are to Dussaud and to Vincent as cited, also to Lidzbarski (Göttingen, *Nachrichten*, 1924, pp. 43–48), Gressmann (*Zeit. f. d. Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1924, p. 349 *sq.*, with contributions from Georg Hoffmann), H. Bauer (*Orient. Lit.zeitung*, March, 1925, col. 129–140).

The name of Aḥiram's father is read אפסבעל by Dussaud (and Hoffmann); Gressmann compares the Babylonian compounds of the verb *ipush* (*i.e.*, Baalmade); in later times we find Baal-pa'al (B made, Punic), and Hebrew El-pa'al (1 Chron. viii, 11), El-asah (אלעשה). It is to be noted that the name Athaliah has been plausibly explained through the Assyrian *etellu* (Yah is high), and that at Byblus Montet found names of native princes written in hieroglyphs, which Gressmann interprets as *Ipush-shum-abi* and *Abi-shumu*, and these were in tombs of the XIIth dynasty.

Vincent retains the original view of Montet and Dussaud that the name should be read Ithobaal (אתבעל). Both this and Aḥiram (in the form Hiram) are familiar later, and this only throws into stronger relief the Babylonian character of the names which, as just mentioned, appear to be found in the hieroglyphic form. It must, however, be recognized that on general grounds there is no reason why Babylonian influence should not have reached the Phoenician coast as early as the XIIth dynasty; the fact that Babylonian was the language of diplomacy and intercourse in the time of the Amarna letters points to the depth of Babylonian culture at an earlier period.

The suffix in "his father" agrees with Hebrew and Moabite against later usage at Byblus itself (viz., in the inscription of Yekhaw-melek, last line), and of Phoenician in general.

The close of line 1 is uncertain. If we render "when he placed him" (כשתה), the following can hardly mean "in (the) eternal (place)." The rendering "here he placed him" (כה שָׂתה, Lidzbarski) seems difficult because of the abbreviation implied.

With the opening of the second line the difficulties multiply: "and if . ." (Dussaud, Vincent) involves a very late word for "if" (אִלוּ), and Lidzbarski's "bei Gott" seems too distinctively Arabic. Phoenician usage suggests the negative "do not" (so Prof. Bevan remarks to the present writer), which in Hebrew at least need not be followed by a verb (*see* Isa. lxi, 6; Ps. lxxxiii, 1—in both cases in direct address). Here *al* (אל) would be the natural particle of dissuasion or prohibition, and is addressed to every king among kings and every officer among officers. The fact that "officers" is misspelt (for בסכנם) is a warning that the brief inscription is not letter-perfect. The word תמא eludes explanation. The reference may be to leading (?) camps or rather campaigns or

armies against Gebal (Byblus). This use of "camps" is found in the old Aramaean inscriptions of Zakir, king of Hamath, and of Panammu, king of Ya'di. If a prohibition stands at the beginning of the line the word תמא may be in the 2nd sing. imperfect, in which case it may not be from the root תמא (Vincent thinks of תם "perfect," complete; "achever l'investissement"). But I have nothing to suggest. The spelling of the preposition "against" (עלי, but Heb. על) has suggested to Father Lagrange a special nuance, "auprès"; it is at least curious that we find the usual short form in line 2, and that Phoenician also uses a feminine form (עלת).

M. Dussaud continues "[et s'il est un roi . . . . qui dresse le camp contre Gebal] et qui découvre ce sarcophage sous la dallage . . . . ." The familiar Hebrew idiom (ויגל, imperfect with ו consecut.) is of interest; Hoffmann, however, starts a new hypothetical sentence: "and if anyone lay bare this sarcophagus . . . . ." There follow two threats relating to the "sceptre of his judgement" and "the throne of his kingdom." The parallelism is obvious, and it has suggested to Gressmann a brilliant emendation in Ps. lxxxix, 44 ("Thou hast made his sceptre to cease, and his throne thou hast cast down to the earth").[1] It seems clear that the nouns are treated as feminine, and that the verbs (חסף and הפך) have a form (a sort of Hiphta'al) more familiar in Moabite, Assyrian and Arabic. As regards the gender, the use of the feminine causes no particular difficulty, and in the later Byblus inscription referred to above (*C.I.S.*, i, 5) the feminine *form* "kingdom" (ממלכת) simply means "king." In Akkadian the word for "throne" itself is feminine, as also is the ordinary word for sceptre (Gressmann). The root חסף can mean "to strip" (Heb. חשׂף), "pluck" (after the Ass.), or, if we assume a metathesis, "to overthrow" (so Bauer = סחף).

The question now arises concerning the peace or ease (נחת). Is it part of the threats against the sacrilegious king or officer who should lay bare the sarcophagus—is the city itself to suffer, and is peace to flee *from* the city? Lidzbarski gives reasons why the preposition might have this nuance, and in any event it must be admitted that the prepositions in Phoenician have noteworthy forms and usages. On the other hand, is it the *return* of peace to the unfortunate city? Dussaud ("la destruction fondra sur

[1] Reading חטרו for מטהרו (? read instead מטהו).

Gebal") and Vincent (above) postulate meanings for the verb (ברח), which, however, are not easy to justify.

The fate of the guilty is quite obscure: "whoso blots out this writing . . . . ." But in view of what has gone before we might have expected as a climax to the threats: "and may he be blotted out *from* this book" (Ex. xxxii, 32). As it is, we have to assume a second threat. The first refers to the usurper who has taken the city and exposed the sarcophagus, the second to "him who shall blot out this writing . . ." The rest seems hopeless, and Lidzbarski leaves it untranslated. Bauer conjectures that the inscription originally ceased with the words "and let him be blotted out"—an excellent ending. The remaining words—"this writing . . ." whatever they mean, elude him; but he notes that the Phoenician inscription of Nora (*C.I.S.*, i, 144), archaic as regards both script and language, ends in a partly similar way, which suggests to him that the conclusion perhaps referred to the engraver. This is a practice which can be illustrated, *e.g.*, from the Nabataean inscriptions; but whether we are to understand that "this writing is by Pepi (an Egyptian, or some Asia Minor Papas, or the like)" must be left open.

It is at all events noteworthy that the inscription has not the more formal and recognizable style of other inscriptions of this class which utter threats against those who disturb their repose; and also, that it has certainly *one* mistake, and that however we take the opening of line 2 the syntactical construction is not clear. Father Vincent, for his part, is impressed by linguistic points of contact with the "Canaanite" language of the Amarna period; it might be worth while to see whether there is anything in the staccato and often elusive style of the Amarna letters from Byblus which would throw light upon the style adopted in the inscription, for certainly it may be said to stand in contrast to the easier language of the Moabite and of the later Phoenician inscriptions.

So far as the palaeographical details are concerned, one is frankly surprised to learn that the inscription must be of the 13th century B.C. It is difficult to avoid what may seem pure subjectivity and scepticism; one must loyally accept the evidence. It has forms (א, 𐤊, כ, 𐤋) which stand apart both from those usual in North Semitic, and from the "ox-head" and "bent hand" which have been so plausibly discerned in the old inscriptions from the Sinaitic peninsula. If, as seems probable, we may regard

the type as one that stands apart from the usual old North Semitic type which we find in North Syria and equally in Moab (9th–8th centuries B.C.), we must be ready to assume that there were various local types, and that the striking monumental form of the 9th–8th centuries came into use and extended over so wide an area through specific historical circumstances of which, however, we are ignorant.

It is true that M. Montet was not the first to discover the tomb; fragments of Cypriote ware indicate that somewhere about the 7th century B.C. the tomb had been discovered and plundered. The question will naturally occur whether this lower date is not rather that of the burial of Aḥiram. The question has been raised by all who have examined the tomb and the inscription, and they agree that there is no occasion to go below the age of Ramses II. Moreover, not only was there a graffito in the grave in characters similar to those of the Aḥiram inscription,[1] but nearly thirty years ago there was found in Byblus a Phoenician inscription of a king Abibaal, which had been carved upon the base of a statuette of Shishak I (*c.* 947–925 B.C.); here, too, there are virtually the same characteristic types.[2]

It must suffice to refer further to the admirable articles by MM. Dussaud and Vincent in *Syria* and the *Revue Biblique*, and to look forward to the publication by M. Montet of the results of his excavations at Byblus. For while these Phoenician inscriptions are of extraordinary interest for the problem of the alphabet, there were other discoveries of a less epigraphical and more archaeological nature which no less give us new ideas of the interrelations between Egypt, South-west Asia and the Aegean.[3]

[1] They are read | לדעת | הני בדלכ | תחת ז | M. Dussaud translates: "Avis! Voici! Ta perte (est) ci-dessous." M. Vincent reads הניפד לך and renders "prends garde à toi."

[2] It runs:—

[. . . . אש יטנ]א | אבבעל | מלך | [גבל . . . .]

. . .]ש גבלי | במצרם | לבעלנ . . . . . ב]על גבל

[3] On revising these paragraphs I have only to add that I do not see that the inscription of Aḥiram has brought the solution of the problem of the alphabet a step nearer, or that it makes the *Phœnician* invention of the alphabet more probable; the differences between the new type and that of the inscriptions of the 9th–8th centuries constitute in my opinion the more interesting problem, and the way in which the later monumental type came into existence is a problem of not less significance than that of the origin of the alphabet itself.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF PUBLICATIONS.

Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina ausgewählt und erläutert von Dr. D. Gustaf Dalman ; Schriften des Deutschen Palästina-Instituts 2 Band. Gülersloh : C. Bertelsmann. £1—paper cover ; £1 5*s*.—in stiff cover. 1925.

It is an original idea to publish selected air photographs of Palestine with a detailed description of all the geographical points they exhibit. By the use of a transparent tablet divided into numbered squares, which adheres to the highly dressed paper, it is possible to identify any point mentioned in the corresponding description.

All the photographs were taken between December, 1917, and September, 1918, for military purposes and are only a selected few from the very large collection catalogued in the Appendix. There are also papers on the technical side of aerial photography and a topographical register and map.

To the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* the photographs themselves will have the largest appeal, and these are very remarkable. Perhaps the first impression will be how similar they are to our raised map, especially with respect to Eastern Judaea and the Jordan Valley. Nothing can give a more wonderful impression of the environs of Jerusalem than the pictures which commence the series, and those who have traversed all the boundary roads and mountain paths, which here stand out with such distinctness among the barren hills, cannot fail to be fascinated to see the extraordinary detail here reproduced.

The selection of these hundred pictures out of so many thousands must have been a considerable labour, but the result is highly satisfactory.

There are remarkable views of such famous sites as Bethlehem, Nazareth, Hebron, Tiberias, Safed, Jaffa, Jericho, Akka, Haifa, Tyre and Sidon. East of the Jordan we have Damascus, es Salt, Amman and Jerash. Perhaps no view is more striking than the wonderful views of the great ruins of Jerash. It is more impressive in some ways than any ordinary photograph. The series illustrating the Jordan Valley and its Lakes give a most vivid impression of this unique area.

An edition of this excellent work, with the photographs and their description only—translated into English—would probably have a wide circulation among English students of the land if it could be brought out at a reasonable price.

E. W. G. M.

The New Maps of Jerusalem.

The Palestine Exploration Fund has received, from His Excellency the Officer administering the Government of Palestine, sixteen sheets of the new survey of Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, which was commenced in 1921. The scale of the survey is 1 : 2000 or half a metre to one kilometre, and it is being executed by the Survey Department of Palestine, under the direction of Captain C. H. Ley, C.B.E., late R.E., who is thus carrying on the traditions of the Royal Engineers, who have been associated with the mapping of Palestine since the survey of Jerusalem was first begun by Wilson in 1864 and continued by Warren in 1867.

Each sheet of the new survey is half a metre square, and thus covers an area of one square kilometre. The complete scheme will apparently include the whole of the municipal area, which is, roughly speaking, a rectangle running north-east and south-west, some 5 kilometres broad by 6 kilometres long. The sixteen sheets received from the Government of Palestine comprise the most important central block of the area in question and cover a region extending from Mount Scopus on the north to Yasul on the south, and from Et Tur and the Mount of Olives on the east to the Greek Monastery of the Cross on the west.

The sheets of the new map are printed entirely in black; the contours are marked at 4-metre intervals, every 20-metre contour being strengthened. A table of conventional signs is printed on the back of each sheet, as also is a diagram showing the arrangement of the sheets. The map is clear and easy to read, but the symbol for steep slopes is somewhat heavy for the scale, though it is difficult to suggest how else to show these significant features, unless, indeed, one trusts to the contours and rock-scarps to tell the tale.

Sheet V.F., which shows Mount Ophel, has a special interest for us, for it is on an enlargement of this sheet, to the scale of 1 : 1000, that the new P.E.F. archæological map of Ophel is being based. And here, perhaps, a word of warning is necessary.

Large scale topographical and cadastral maps are generally constructed with a view to showing no measurable errors, and the class of error usually admitted in chaining is of the order of 1 in 1000, an error much smaller than is likely to be caused by hygrometric changes in the dimensions of the paper on which the map is printed. But when we begin enlarging such a map the original standards of accuracy tend to disappear and we meet with difficulties due to the coarseness resulting from the enlargement. There is no harm in this, if it is recognised that very precise measurements cannot be made from an enlargement; but as a counsel of perfection, each excavator should carry out his own triangulation, and his work should be plotted, originally, on a larger scale than intended for final publication. In the case of Ophel, what is now desirable is a special, close triangulation and traversing of the whole spur, fit for plotting, if need be, on a scale of 1 to 100. Perhaps this will come one day.

Meanwhile we have every reason to be grateful to the Government of Palestine for undertaking such an excellent, extended, large-scale survey of the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, a fitting successor to the earlier surveys and one which the many alterations and additions of new buildings outside the walls of the Old City have rendered indispensable for all those who use maps of Jerusalem.

It may be noted that the inner block of 16 sheets, covering an area of 16 square kilometres ($6\frac{1}{4}$ square miles), would form an admirable basis for reduction to, say, 1 to 5000, and would give an up-to-date single-sheet map of the city and its surroundings. It is possible that this may be in contemplation.

Just as the last paragraph was written we received from Sir Ronald Storrs a map of Jerusalem covering the area indicated, and, no doubt, based upon the official large-scale survey. This new single-sheet map of Jerusalem is printed in three forms with the lettering in English, Arabic and Hebrew, respectively. It is issued by the Pro-Jerusalem Society and will be found most useful to tourists and residents. The scale is approximately 1 to 5000 (it is not clear why it is not exactly to this scale), or about 12 inches to 1 mile. It is printed in black, with public buildings and contours in brown. No scale is marked, and this is a defect which should, at once, be remedied.

We have, on a previous occasion, had the pleasure of calling attention to the important work of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, and we hope that this useful map will serve as a reminder to many of what

this Society is doing. We have never yet had a map of Jerusalem so suitable as a wall map for general use and for exhibition in hotels and public buildings, and we congratulate the Pro-Jerusalem Society on its publication.

C. F. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Hebrew Ostrakon (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1924, pp. 183 *sqq.*).

Mr. Duncan sends the following letter from Prof. Albright :—

"This afternoon there was sun for the first time in two weeks, so I looked at the ostrakon again, and am convinced that I can get nothing more out of it. Mr. Inghold went over it with me the first day, when there was sun, and agreed with the following revised copy everywhere, except in the ק which I somewhat doubtfully read near the end of the first line. He says that he cannot see the stem; I think I can. The enclosed copy is a tracing from my original copy. In the first line (end) I read בקוֹיהו, *Bukkiyahu*, and in the eighth line יח]זקיהו[, as at the beginning of the first line."

יח(ז)קיהו בן קרא הבתלשי בקיהו

ד ? ?

אחיהו בן צדק בעמק ירת[?]

ד ? ?

צפ(נ)יהו בן קרזי בעמק ירת[?]

. . . . . קיה[ו] . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

יח]יקיהו[

In line 1 "the Bitlishite" (?) may be the original of the Kithlish in Joshua xv, 40. In line 2 "son of Zedek," read שׁ for צ ?

W. F. Albright.

Jerusalem,

January 5th, 1925.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

HEBREW.

Hebrew.	English.	Hebrew.	English.
א	’	כ ך	kh
ב	b	ל	l
ב	bh	מ ם	m
ג	g	נ ן	n
ג	gh	ס	s
ד	d	ע	‘
ד	dh	פ ף	p
ה	h	פ	f
ו	v, w	צ ץ	z
ז	z	ק	k
ח	h	ר	r
ט	t	ש	sh
י	y	שׂ	s
כ	k	ת	t
		ת	th

ARABIC.

Arabic.	English.		Arabic.	English.
ا	’		ض	d
ب	b		ط	t
ت	t		ظ	tz
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh
ح	h		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	k
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	z		ي	y

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū.